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THE BRITISH MUSEUM PAPYRUS OF ISOCRATES Περὶ Εἰρήνης.

THE papyrus containing the Περὶ Εἰρήνης of Isocrates (Brit. Mus. Pap. 132) was acquired by the British Museum in the year 1889 along with the Aristotelian treatise on the Constitution of Athens and other papyri. A collation of it appeared in 1891 in "Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum"; but this was more or less provisional, not, as a rule, indicating the mistakes in spelling and the minor corrections, which, while not of much importance as regards the authority of the papyrus, are often in themselves of interest. Moreover, no mere collation of a mutilated MS., however thorough, can quite supply the place of a transcript; and while it may adequately indicate the character of the MS. in the parts which have been preserved entire, it cannot fully show the authority of the whole; for in regard to any particular passage not noticed in the collation it must remain uncertain whether that passage has been passed over because it agrees with the general tradition or because the portion of the MS. containing it is lost. To these considerations must be added the fact that since the appearance of the collation referred to above a number of new fragments have been acquired and identified. They all belong to the first nineteen

columns of the extant portion of the speech, and throw considerable light on not a few points which before were doubtful. For example, a considerable part of one column previously wholly lost has now been added to the existing remains.

For all these reasons it has been thought advisable to publish a complete transcript of the papyrus as it at present exists. A description of it was given in the volume already mentioned; but a few points may be briefly repeated here. The beginning of the speech, which is entirely lost, probably occupied four columns. The extant portion then may be taken to begin at the fifth column, and from this point fragments at any rate of each column remain. The number of the existing columns is 44; but the first nineteen are much mutilated. The remainder, with the exception of large gaps in the 20th and 36th columns and smaller ones elsewhere, are preserved entire; but they are in far worse condition than the earlier ones, and have suffered so much from rubbing as to be in places quite illegible. The writing in the earlier part of the papyrus differs considerably from that in the later part; but it is probable that only one scribe has been employed, who has begun with a regular uncial, but as he proceeds grows constantly looser in the formation of the letters, and ends with what is practically a semi-cursive hand. The columns in the earlier portion of the speech are narrower, and the characters larger, the average number of letters in each line being from 14 to 16; whereas in the later part, where the columns are broader, and the writing smaller and more compressed, it is nearer 28.

The papyrus contains a considerable number of corrections, especially in the later part, where the scribe seems to have become careless. These corrections are of at least two classes, one proceeding from the scribe himself and the other from a corrector, who forms his letters more roughly and uses coarser ink. Some of the corrections however appear difficult to assign to either of these hands; and in the notes to the present transcript three classes have been distinguished, which are referred to respectively as Pap.^{1}, Pap.^{2} and Pap.^{3}, the original reading being known as Pap. But it is frequently difficult to decide with any certainty, especially as the character of the writing

and the state of preservation of the papyrus vary so greatly; and many of the attributions must be regarded as doubtful. Of the mistakes in spelling, the most common are the interchange of ε and αι and of ι and ει. These are frequently, but not always, corrected. It is worth noting that the first hand divides some of his words on a different principle from the corrector. Where a word containing σ followed by another consonant and preceded by a vowel has to be divided between two lines, he writes the σ at the end of the line and the other consonant at the beginning of the next (e.g. παρασ|κευαζειν, col. 37, line 45); but in almost all cases the corrector has altered it so as to end the line with the vowel and begin the next with σ[1]. Accents and breathings are very rarely used, and of the few which do occur some appear to be inserted by the corrector. Marks of punctuation are entirely absent, except that lines apparently intended as *paragraphi* occur in a few places. Corrections or additions of omitted phrases are sometimes written at the head or the foot of a column, and in these cases are usually referred to in the text by the words αν^{ω} or κα^{τ}, as the case may be. The papyrus appears to date from the first century A.D.; and the corrections do not appear to be much later than the original scribe.

Dr E. Drerup, of Munich, who made an exhaustive collation of the papyrus[2] in 1901, before the acquisition of the new fragments, has very kindly lent his manuscript notes for comparison with the present transcript; and to this favour the fullest acknowledgements are due. His collation has afforded the most valuable assistance in the work of revision, though in some cases I have arrived at different conclusions as to the readings in doubtful passages.

In conclusion, a few words of explanation must be given concerning the system followed in making this transcript. Words have been separated, but in other respects the papyrus

[1] Both systems of division are legitimate, this being the one case in which the practice of scribes was not uniform; cf. Kenyon, *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, p. 32.

[2] The results of this, embodying the fresh evidence afforded by the present transcript, will appear in Dr Drerup's forthcoming edition of Isocrates.

has been followed closely. Corrections, except in the case of words written in the margin, where it is not always clear whether such words are intended as a correction or simply as an alternative reading, have been adopted in the text, the original reading being relegated to the notes. No accents or breathings have been inserted, except in cases where the original has them. In mutilated passages, only those gaps have been filled up in which the hiatus is small and the reading fairly certain; in other cases the size of the hiatus is indicated by dots, which are enclosed by brackets in cases where there is a hole in the papyrus, but have no brackets in cases where the papyrus is intact but illegible. It must not be supposed that the dots represent the exact number of letters which, from the evidence of the printed text, appear to be missing. The system followed has been to take a rough average of the letters contained in each line of an hiatus, and represent these by dots whose number is constant so long as the hiatus continues of the same size. Any variation in the size of the hiatus is indicated by a variation in the number of dots, without reference to the actual number of letters in the printed text. There is however one modification of this system, due to the nature of the papyrus. The columns usually tend to lean towards the right; and in the case of an hiatus which occurs at the beginning or the end of the lines, allowance has been made for this; so that the same hiatus which in one line is indicated by five dots may lower down contain only two. As the writing not infrequently projects into the margin, it must be understood that dots placed at the end of a line can but indicate very roughly the number of missing letters. This is also the case in passages where only one or two letters of a line remain. In such cases, a certain number has been taken as the constant average of letters in a line; but since some letters naturally occupy a much larger space than others, the actual number in any particular line may considerably exceed, or fall short of, the average. It must be evident, from what has already been said, that the average will be considerably greater in the later columns than in the earlier. In the numeration of columns, it has been thought better not to count anything which is lost;

and thus the columns are numbered consecutively from 1; in the case of missing lines, an estimate is given of the extent of the lacuna. Notes are referred to by numbers placed after the letter or letters which they concern; and they have been put as shortly as is consistent with clearness. All mistakes of spelling have been reproduced, and only those have been indicated by *sic* which might most easily be mistaken for errors in the transcribing or printing rather than in the MS.

It remains only to express my thanks to Mr F. G. Kenyon, who has assisted me in the preparation of the transcript and has been kind enough to read it through and compare it with the MS.

Symbols.

Pap. = the original scribe.
Pap.[1] = the original scribe correcting himself.
Pap.[2] = the first corrector.
Pap.[3] = the second corrector.

Col. 1. βουλευησθε[1] ζη[. . .] 13
[.] . . [2] συμβουλους [. . .]
αμεινον φρονουν[. . .]
υμων αυτων οτα[. . .]
περ της πολεως [. . .]
κλησιαζητε τοις μ[. .]
[. .]ιουτοις απιστειτ[. . .]
[. .]θονει[3]τε τους δε πο[. .]
[. .]τατους των επι [. .][4]
[.]α παριοντων ασ[. . .]
[.]ε και νομιζετ[. .]

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. αι.

[2] Something has been written and corrected (or struck out) by Pap.[2] before συμβουλους.

[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. θονιτε.

[4] τό must be omitted. It may have been added above the line, where there is a slight trace of ink just before the lacuna.

[.]ολικωτερους ε[. . .]
[. .]υς μεθυοντας [. . .]
[.]ηφοντων και τ[. .]
[. .]υν ουκ εχοντ[. . .]
[.]ων ευ φρονουντ[. .]
[. . .] τους τα της π[. . .]
[. .] . . . νεμομεν[. . .]
[. .]ν εκ [τη]ς ιδι[α]ς [. . .]
[. .] ημι[1]ν . . . . [2] υργ[. . .]
[. .]ν ωστ [α]ξιον θ[. . .]
[. . .]ειν [ει] τις ελπιζει την πολ[. . . .][3]
[. . .]οις συμβο[. . . . .]
[. . .]ενην επ[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]ωσει[4]ν ε[. . . . .] 14
[. . . . .] οτι πρ[. . . .]
[. . . .] εναν[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]ετερ[. . . . .]
[. . . .] και δι[. . . . .]
[. . . .]τιας ουσ[. . . .]
[. . . . .]αρ[ρη]σι[. . . .]
[. . . . .]εν [. . . .]
[. . . .]ατοις κ[. . . .]
[. . .]μων φρον[. . . .]
[. . .] εν δε τοις θ[. . . .]
[. . . .]ς κωμ[5][. . . . .]

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. ει.

[2] There is not space for more than 4 letters. Probably the reading was λιτουργουντων.

[3] Pap. ειν την πολ. Pap.[2] adds ει τις ελπιζει above the line.

[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. ωσιν.

[5] A correction is written over the letter which followed μ, apparently by Pap.[1] It seems like ω; and perhaps Pap. has written κωμοδι ‖ δασκαλοις, which he has then corrected by writing

Col. 2.

δασκαλοις ο κα[ι] παν
των εστιν δεινοτα
τον οτι τοις μεν εκφε
ρουσιν εις τους ελληνας
τα της πολεως αμαρ
τηματα τοσαυτην εχε
τε χαριν οσην ουδε τοις
ευ ποιουσιν προς δε τους
επιπληττοντας και νου
θετουντας υμας ουτως
διατιθεσθε[1] δυσκολως
ωσπερ τους κακον τι
την πολιν ειργασμε
νους ομως δε και του
των υπαρχοντων ου
κ αν απο[σ]ταιˢ[2]ην ων δι
ενοηθην παρεληλυθα
[γ]αρ ου χ[αρ]ιουμεν[ος]
[υ]μιˢ[3]ν ο[υ]δε χειροτ[ο]
[νι]αν μνησικακουσων [αλλ]
[α]ποφανουμενος α [τυγ]
[χα]νω γεινωσκων [προ]
[το]ν μεν περι ων οι[4] π[υ]
[τα]ν[εις προ]τιθεασι[ν ε]
πειτ[α περ]ι των αλλ[ων]
των [της] πολεω[ς πρα]

ωδ above the line. In this case two dots should be deleted from the lacuna at the end of every line after 21 and added to that at the beginning.

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. αι.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. ει.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. ων ν.

γματω[ν ο]υθεν γαρ [. . . .]
[. .] εσται των νυν π[ε]
[ρι] της ειρηνης γν[ωσ]
[θ]εντων ην μη[1] κα[ι]
[π]ερι των λοιπων ορ
[θ]ως βου[λ]ευσω[2]μεθ[α]
[φ]ημι δ ουν χρηναι π[οι] 16
[ει]σθαι την ειρηνην μ[η]
[μ]ονον προς χειους κα[ι]
[βυ]ζαντ[ιους] και ρο[δι]
[ου]ς και κνι[3]διους α[λλα]
[κα]ι προς απαντας αν

Col. 3. θ[ρω]πους και χρησθαι
τ[. . . . .]καις μη ταυ
τα[ις α]ις νυν τινες γεγρα
φο[. . .] αλλα ταις γενομε
να[ις] μεν προς βασιλεα
και [λ]ακε[4]δαιμονιους
προ[στα]ττουσαις δε τους
ελλ[ην]ας αυτονομους ει
ναι [κα]ι τας φρουρας εκ
των [αλ]λοτριων πολεων
[εξ]ι[5][ενα]ι και την αυτων
[ε]χε[ιν] εκαστους[6] του[7]
[τ]ων [γ]αρ ουτε[8] δικαιο[9]τε

[1] ν appears to have been written after μη and struck out.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. ο.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. η.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. αι.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. ει.
[6] Pap.[1]: Pap. εκαστου.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. τουτου.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. οιδε.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. ω.

[ρα]ς ευ[ρ]ησομεν ουσας ουτε
[τη][1] πο[λε]ι συμφερουσας[2] ην μεν 17
ο[υν εντ]αυθα καταλιπω[3]
τ[ον λογ]ον[4] οιδ οτι δοξω
τ[ην πο]λιν ελαττουν ει
θ[ηβαιοι] μεν εξουσι θεσ
π[. . . . .]α[τ]αιας και
[. . . . .]ας πα
[. . . . .]ληφ[5][.]
[. . . . .]μεν
[. . . . .]ς ουσης
[. . . . .]μεν ε
[. . . . .]τε[
[The rest of the column is lost]

Col. 4. περι δε της ειρην[ης] 18
πρωτον διαλεχθ[ωμεν]
και σκεψω[6]μεθα τ[ι] αν
εν τωι[7] παροντι γεν[εσθ]αι
βουληθειημεν ην[8] [γαρ]
ταυτα καλως ο[9]ρι[σωμ]ε
θα και νουν εχοντω[ς] προς
ταυτην την υποθε[σιν α]
ποβλεποντες αμ[εινο]ν

[1] Received text μᾶλλον τῇ; but there is not room for μᾶλλον.
[2] Pap.²: Pap. συμφορους.
[3] Pap.²: Pap. ον.
[4] Pap.²: Pap. ων.
[5] The reading has probably been ειληφασιν, as there does not seem room for κατ.
[6] Pap.²: Pap. ο.
[7] Pap.²: Pap. τω.
[8] Received text ἡμῖν. ἦν γὰρ; but the last word before the lacuna appears to be ν, and there is not room for ιν ην γαρ.
[9] Pap.²: Pap. ω.

βουλευσομεθα και [περι]
των αλλων αρ[1] ουν [ου]κ αν 19
[εξα]ρκεσειεν ημ[ιν ει]
[τη]ν τε πολιν ασ[φαλως]
[οικ]οιμεν και τα [περι]
τον θειον ευπορ[ωτε]
[ρ]οι γενοιμεθα κα[ι τα τε]
προς ημας αυτο[υς ομο]
νο[2]οιμεν και παρα τ[οις ελ]
λησιν ευδοκ[. . . . .]
μεν εγω μεν [. . . . .]
μαι τουτων υπαρξ[. . . .]
[. .]λεως την πολιν ευ[δαι]
[μο]νησειν ο μεν τοι[νυν]
[πο]λεμος α[πα]ντων [η]
[μ]ας τ[ων ειρη]μενω[ν]
[απ]εστε[. . . . .] και γα[ρ]
[πε]νεστ[ερ]ους πεποι[η]
[κε]ν και [πο]λλου[3][. . .] κιν[δυ]
[νου]ς υπο[μ]ενει[ν ην]αγκ[α]
[σεν][4] και προς το[υς ελλη]
[νας] διαβεβληκεν [και]
[κα]τα παντας[5] τους τ[ρο]
[πους] τεταλαιπωρη[κεν]
[ην δε][6] την ειρηνην π[οι] 20

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. ι.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. νοιμεν.
[3] There is an hiatus, as shown by the next line, of at least three letters.
[4] The average number of letters in this hiatus is three, so that σεν is more likely than σε.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. παντα.
[6] There is no room for ημας.

[ησωμε]θα και τοιουτο[υς]
[αυτους] ημας παρασχ[ω]
[μεν οιου]ς αι κοιναι συν
[θηκ]αι προσταττουσ[ι]
[μετ]α πολλης μεν ασ
[φαλ]ειας την πολιν
[οικη]σομεν απαλλα

Col. 5. [γε]ντες πολεμων[1] και
[κιν]δυνων[2] και ταραχης
[εις] ην νυν προς αλληλους
κ[α]θεσταμεν καθ εκασ
τ[η]ν δε την ημεραν εις
ε[υ]πορiαν επι[3]δωσωμεν
α[ν]απεπαυμενοι μεν
τ[ω]ν εισφορων και των
τρ[ι]ηραρχι[4]ων και των αλ
λ[ω]ν των περι τον πολε
μ[ον] λειτουργιων[5] αδεως
δε [γε]ωργουντες και την
[. . . . .]ν πλεοντες και
[. . . . .]ις εργασιαις[6]
[. . . . .]ντες αι νυν
[. . . . .]μον εκλε
[. . . . .]μεθα δε 21
[. . . . .]πλασιας
[. . . . .]οδους η

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. πολεμω.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. δυνω.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. ει.
[4] Pap.[1]: Pap. χων.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. λιτουργειων.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. ειαις.

[. . . . .]υσαν μεσ
[. . . . .]νην εμ
[. . . . .]ων και με
[. . . . .] ερημη
[. . . . .]ε μεγισσ[1]
[. . . . .] εξομεν
[. . . . .] . . . ου
[. . . . .]α πε
[. . . . .] ταις
[. . . . .] την
[. . . . .]χο
[. . . . .]υ
[. . . . .]υς
[. . . . .]νους
ω[. . . . .]ηθως
συμ[. . . . .]υς ον
τας [. . . . .]ς α νυν 22
απο[. . . . .]μεθα
δια πο[. . . . .]ς
δαπ[. . . . .] .[2]

Col. 6. [. . . . .]διως κομιου
[. . . . .]ιεσθε μη
[. . . . .]ν [υ]περ
[. . . . .]τε φι
[. . . . .]φιπολε
[. . . . .]ν οταν
[. . . . .]δενος

[1] The σ has perhaps been struck out.

[2] This letter has apparently been struck out and is illegible.

[. . . . .] εφιεμε
[. . . . .]ο
[. . . . .]τονα
[. . . . .]λιν ταις
[. . . . .]των ο
[. . . . .]τεργον
[. . . . .]μεν αλ 23
[. . . . .] ορεγο
[. . . . .] με
[. . . . .]ον
[. . . . .] . . .[1] [.]ω λα
[. . . . .]νον απο[2]
σ[. . . . .]ς ημετε
[. . . . .]ης αυτων
[. . . . .]ν λυσιτ[. . .]
[. . . . .]οις θερ[απευ]
ο[υσι την δυν]αμιν [. . . .]
[. . . . .]ς ασ[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]τω[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]εν [. . . . .] 24
[. . . . .]ι[3]ν [. . . . .]
[. . . . .]τ[4][. . . . .]
[. . . . .]ν [. . . . .]
[α]υ[. . . . .]

. . . . [. . . . .]

[1] There are traces of letters here, but they are hard to reconcile with any of the letters of βελτιω. Something has perhaps been struck out.

[2] σ has been written here and apparently struck out, being repeated at the beginning of line 20 (by Pap.[2]?).

[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. ει.

[4] This letter is very doubtful.

δεομ[. . . . .]
[ν]ων [. . . . .]
νωμ[. . . . .]
νασθ[. . . . .]
οπου [. . . . .]
και κ[. . . . .]
ιδιω[. . . . .]

Col. 7. [.][1]ας οικισαι[2] πολεις οιοι
[τε] γεγονασιν η που βου
[λη]θεντες ημεις αν
[πολ]λους τοπους τοιου
[τους] κατασχειν ουκ αν
[. . . .]θειημεν χρη δε
[. . . .]ρωτευειν εν τοις
[. . . . .]ν αξιουντας[3] τοιου
τ[. . . . .]γων ηγεμονας
γι[νεσθα]ι πολυ μαλλον
η [. . . . .]ου και στρατοπε
δ[. . . . .]ικων ων νυν
η[. . . . .]χανομεν επι
θ[. . . . .]ς περι μεν ουν
[. . . . .]εις επαγγελ
[. . . . .] ταυτα[4] ικανα και
[. . . . .]ις ετε[ρ]α
[. . . . .]τοις ηγου

[1] A letter, probably γ, has been written by Pap.[2] above the line before α. In the line projects what may be the bottom stroke of κ; and perhaps Pap. wrote φυ‖κας.

[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. δικασαι.

[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. αξιουσιν.

[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. τα ικανα.

[. . . . .]η[1] μονον
[. . . . .]ς υμας
[. . . . .] εκ της
[. . . . .]ελθειν
[. . . . .] . .
[. . . . .]ν . .
[. . . . .]μεν
[. . . . .]ον
[. . . . .]ς
[. . . . .]α
[About 8 lines lost here]
χ[. . . . .] 26
κ[. . . . .]
ε[2][. . . . .]
τηυ [. . . . .]
αδι[. . . . .]

Col. 8. [. . . . .]ης
[. . . . .]ι[3]
[. . . . .]ε
[. . . . .]υ[4]
μ[. . . . .]
δ[. . . . .]
π[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]ς

[1] i.e. μ]η.

[2] If the reading is ειναι της πολυπραγμοσυνης the line must be a good deal longer than the others. Perhaps της is omitted, and the same may be the case with the της before ἀδικίας, as otherwise line 40 would have 19 letters, which is apparently somewhat longer than the average of this part of the column.

[3] This letter is very doubtful. Read επιθυμ]ι[ας.

[4] Very doubtful. Only the tail of the letter remains. Read εν] ν μ[ιν.

ο[. . . . .]
ε[. . . . .]
κ[. . . . .]ν
π[. . . . .]α[. . . .]ε 27
τ[. . . . .]με[νω]ν
ε[. . . . .]ηγορ[ει]ν
κα[. . . . .]νω[μ]ας
με[. . . . .]
πο[. . . . .]
ψα[. . . . .]
ρω[. . . . .]
λο[1] . . . . .]
μν[. . . . .]
ρη[. . . . .]
ρι . [. . . . .]
μο[. . . . .]
παν[. . . . .]
[βε]λ[. . . . .]
θειη[. . . . .] 28
ουτ[. . . . .]
απ[. . . . .]
με[. . . . .]
και τ[. . . . .]
αλλ[. . . . .]
τας π[. . . . .]

[The rest of the column is lost.]

[1] This appears to be the right reading. We must therefore probably fill up the hiatus thus :—α]|ψα[σθαι και δια μακροτε]|ρω[ν ποιησασθαι τους] | λο[γους κ.τ.λ.

Col. 9. κ[αι β]ιαζω[. . . . .] 29
λε[ις σ]υνταξεις διδ[. . . .]
κ[αι συ]νεδρους εν[. . . .]
πε[μπ]ειν διαπρα[. . . .]
τω[ν δ]εοντων πλε[ιστο]ν
δε [. . .]ψευσμεθα [. . . .]ς
αλ[ηθ]ειας ων μεν [γαρ η]λ
πιζ[ο]μεν ουδεν [. . .]βε
βηκ[ε]ν εχθραι δ ημ[ιν ε]ξ αυ
των και πολεμοι[1] κ[αι δα]
παν[α]ι μεγαλαι γεγο[να]σιν
εικο[τ]ως και γαρ προτερον 30
εκ μεν της τοιαυτης πο
λυπραγμοσυνης εις τους
εσχατους κινδυν[2]υς κα
τεστημεν εκ δε του δικ[αι]
αν τ[η]ν πολιν παρεχειν κα[ι]
βοη[θ]ειν τοις αδικουμενοις
κα[3][. .]η των αλλοτριων επι
θυ[μειν] παρ εκοντων των
ελ[ληνω]ν την ηγεμονιαν
[. . . . .]εν ων νυν αλο
[. . . . .]ι λειαν εικη[4] πο
[. . . . .]ονον καταφρο
[. . . . .]ς τουτο γαρ ανοι 31
[. . . . .]ληλυσασιν ωσ

[1] Pap.[1]: Pap. πολεμω.
[2] ο omitted.
[3] Something appears to have been written by Pap.[2] over κα.
[4] Pap. εικηι: ι struck out.

[. . . . .]σιν την αδι
[. . . . .]ιδιστον μεν
[. . . . .]αλεα[1]ν δε και
[. . . . .]ιον τον καθ η
[. . . . .]φερουσαν την
[. . . . .]υνην ευδο
[. . . . .] αλυσιτελη δε
[. . . . .] δυναμενη[ν]
[. . . . .] ωφελειν η
[. . . . .]ς αυτην κα 32
[. . . . .] . . . ουτε προς
[. . . . .]υτε προς
[. . . . .]υθ ολως[2]
[. . . . .]αν ουθεν
[. . . . .]αυ
[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]τηϛ
[. . . . .]ους[3]
[. . . . .]τοις
[. . . . .]ς αλλας
[. . . . .]ενοι

Col. 10. [The first five lines are lost.]

[. . . . .] πρατ[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]ς θαυμ[. . . . .] 33

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. ο.

[2] Received text οὔτε πρὸς χρηματισμὸν οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν οὔτε πρὸς ἃ δεῖ πράττειν οὔθ' ὅλως κ.τ.λ. We must apparently read here ουτε προς|[χρηματισμον ο]υτε προς|[α δει πραττειν ο]υθ ολως κ.τ.λ.

[3] Received text ταύτης. τοῖς γὰρ ἀγαθοῖς οἷς ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ ψύχῃ, τούτοις κ.τ.λ. Perhaps ους has been inadvertently written for οις in the Papyrus.

[. . . . .] τηv[1] | . . . . . |

[About four lines are lost here.]

[. . . .]ττον [. . . . . |

[. . . .] αλλ ου[. . . . . |

κ[αι π]αρα [. . . . . |

αν|θ|ρωπ[. . . . . |

τ[ων| αλλ[. . . . . |

π[επ]εισμα[ι] τ[. . . . . |

ν[. . . .][2]ονους ω[. . . . . |

ο[νε]κτειν τ[. . . . . |

ου [βελ]τειον ε[. . . . . | 34

το[υς] μεν τηv[3] αδ[. . . . . |

τι[μω]ντας κ[. . . . . |

τι τ|ω|ν αλλο| . . . . . |

σ[4]το|ν α|γαθο| . . . . . |

ομ[. . . . . |ντας το[. . . . |

λε[. . . . . |ις τω[. . . . |

κ[5]αι [. . . . . |ρχας μ·| . . . . |

λαν[. . . . .]ν αν λα[. . . . |

ολι[. . . . .]ερον εν τ[. . .]

με[. . . . .]ακοις ον[. . . |

του[. . . . .]τ ευσεβεια[ς]

κα[. . . . .]υνης ζω[. . . . |

[1] If the reading of this passage is πρατ[ειν βελτιον ολιγωρουντε]ς θαυμ[αζω δ ει τις οιεται τους] τηv, the lines must be longer than lower down in this column.

[2] Received text πέπεισμαι τούτους μόνους κ.τ.λ. The letter at the beginning of this line is almost certainly a ν, and πεπεισμαι του would be a very short line. Probably therefore we must read π[επ]εισμα[ι] τ[ουτους μο]ν[ους μ]ονους; μονους being repeated by inadvertence.

[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. μεν αδ.

[4] Added by Pap.[2]

[5] κ appears to have been struck out by Pap.[2]

εν [. . . . .]αρουσιν [. . . .]

α[. . . . .]

[Two lines are lost here.]

η[. . . . .]

τ[. . . . .]ατα 35

πα[. . . . .]

[. . . . .]

ω[. . . . .]

γ[. . . . .]

του[. . . . .]

δ[. . . . .]

οι[. . . . .]

λακ[. . . . .]

φαι[. . . . .]

Col. 11. [Five lines are lost from the top of the column.]

[. . .]νη[. . . . .]

[. .]ρο[. . . . .]

[. . .] το[. . . . .]

[. . .]ς τ[. . . . .]

[. . .]ηρημενων εβουλ[ο] 36

[μη]ν δ αν ωσπερ προχει

[ρον] εστιν επαινεσαι την

[αρετ]ην ουτω ραιδιον ειναι

[πει]σαι τους ακουοντας

[ασ]κειν αυτην νυν δε[1] δεδοι

[κα] μη ματην τα τοιαυτα

[λεγ]ωμεν διεφθαρμεθα

[γαρ π]ολυν ηδη χρονον υπ αν

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. νυν δεδοι.

[θρωπ]ων ουδεν αλλ[1] η φενα[2]
[. . . . .] . . . . υναμε[ν]ων οι
[. . . . .] . . . . . υ . . . . κα
[. . . . .] . . . . . .
[. . . . .] βουληθωσι προς
[. . . . .]λεμον ε . . . . . .
[. . . . .]τοι χρηματα λαμ
[. . . . .]ς λεγειν τολμω
[. . . . .]η τους[3] προγονους
[. . . . .] και μη περιορ[4]αν
[. . . . .]ους καταγελω
[. . . . .]ηδε την θαλατ
[. . . . .]ονταϛ[5] τους
[. . . . .]υνταξεις ημι[6]ν
[. . . . .] υποτελειν η 37
[. . . . .]υν αυτων πυθοι
[. . . . .] ημας των προγε
[. . . . .]ων ομοιους[7] κε
[. . . . .]αι ποτερα
[. . . . .] περσικα
[. . . . .]ις προ του
[. . . . .]εκελι
[. . . . .]κησασιν
[. . . . .] ουδεν
[. . . . .]ουσι υμιν
[. . . . .]δισμου

[1] Pap.[1]: Pap. αδ.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. η φει [.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. τοδε.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. ι.
[5] Pap. ονταϛ ναυϛ τουϛ : ναυϛ struck out.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. ομοιωϛ.

45 [. . . . .]οις εν 38
[. . . . .]ς
[. . . . .]

Col. 12. [. . . .] ουχ απ[. . . . .]
χυντοτατοι [. . . . .]
οντες ει τους [. . . . .]
ομενους επαι[. . . . .]
5 ναντια πρατ[. . . . .]
πιθουσιν υμας και [. . . . .]
εξαμαρτανειν πε[ρι ων[1]]
απορω τι[2] ποι[. . . . .]
χρησω[μ]αι ταις α[. . . . .]
10 αις ωσπερ περι τω[. . . . .]
η κατασιωπησω δε[. . . . .]
προς υ[3]μας απεχθει[. . . . .]
κει μ[εν] γαρ μοι βελτει[ον]
ειναι [δια]λεχθηναι περι [αυ]
15 των [. . .] δ υμας χαλεπω
τερον [δι]ατιθεμε[ν]ους
προς [τους ε]πιτιμων[τα]ς
[η] τους [. . . . .]κων
[γε]γεν[. . . . .]λ αισ 39
20 [χ]υνθ[. . . . .]ν
[μ]α[. . . . .]
ε[μ]α[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]ριας [. . . . .]

[1] Perhaps και is to be read here, as otherwise the line would be shorter than the average.

[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. απορως ποι.

[3] Pap.[1]: Pap. η.

[. . . . .]στι κ[. . . . .]

[. . . . .]ηδ[. . . . .]

[Four lines lost.]

[. . . . .]πρω

[. . . . .]ω

σκ[1][. . . . .]ερι το

σ[. . . . .] πολλαι

θ[. . . . .]απα[2]ι

τ[. . . . .] ταις

[. . . . .]ου

[. . . . .]νη

[ρω]ν ε[. . . . .]

ε[σ]τιν αλ[. . . . .]

π[λ]ην ο[3] λογος [. . . . .][4]

μων τοις αμαρ[. . . . .]

ν[ο]ις επι[5]πληττε[. . . . .] 40

θ [ο]τι καταγελαστον[6] [. .]

τ[ι ε]στι τας μεν καυσεις

κ[αι] τας τομας των ιατρων

υ[π]ομενειν ινα πλειονω[ν]

[7][. . . .]γηδονω[ν] απαλ

λ[. . . .]εν τους δε λογους

α[. . . .]κιμαζειν πριν

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. ωσ κ.

[2] απα appears to have been written by Pap.[2] over something else.

[3] Pap.[1](?): Pap. π[λ]ην λογος.

[4] Received text λόγος ὁ τωλμῶν; but there is a hiatus of 8—10 letters.

[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. επιυπλ.

[6] There is room for at least 2 letters between ν and the end of the ordinary line (the next line has three and part of a fourth in the same space); but there is no sign of anything having been written after καταγελαστον.

[7] A letter written here has been struck out by Pap.[2] There is a space of 4 or 5 letters lost after it. After the hiatus and before η a letter appears to have been struck out by the same corrector, who has written γ over it.

Col. 13. ειδεναι σαφ[. . . . .]
αυτην εχουσι [. . . . .]
μιν ωστ ωφε[. . . . .]
ακουοντας του[. . . . .] 41
ταυτα προειπο[. . . . .]
ρι των λοιπων ο[. . . . .]
τειλαμενος αλλ[. . . . .]
πασιν ανειμενω[. . . . .]
λω ποεισθαι[1] τους [. . . .]
προς υμας τις γαρ α[. . . .]
θεν ελθων και μη[. . . .]
διεφθαρμενος ημιν [. . . .]
αι[2]φνης επισ[3]τας τοις γι[. . . .]
νοις ουκ αν μαινεσθαι [. . .]
παραφρονειν ημας νο[μι]
[σ]ειεν οι φιλοτι[4]μουμεθ[α]
μεν επι τοις των προ[γο]ν[ων]
[ε]ργοις και την πολιν εκ τ[ων]
[τ]οτε πραχθεντων εγκω
[μ]ιαζειν εχομεν ουδεν
[δ]ε των αυτων εκεινοις
[π]ραττομεν αλλα παν [τ]ου
[ν]αντιον οι μεν γαρ υπερ 42
[τ]ων ελληνων τοις βαρ
[β]αροις πολεμουντες δι[ε]
[τε]λεσαν ημεις δε τους
[εκ τ]ης ασιας τον βιον π[ορι]

[1] *Sic.*
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. ϕφνης.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. επιτας.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. φιλονμ.

[ξο]μενους εκειθ[ε]ν αν[. .
[. . . . .]ς επι τους ελληνα[ς η]
[γαγομε]ν κα[κ]εινοι μεν ελ[ευ]
[θερουν]τες [τ]ας πολεις τας
[ελλην]ιδας [κ]αι βοηθουν
[τες α]υταις [τ]ης ηγεμο
[νιας] ηξιωθησαν ημεις
[δε κατ]αδουλουμενοι τ[α][1]
[. . . .]αντια τοις τοτε[2] πρατ
[τοντε]ς αγανακτουμεν
[. . . . .]ην αυτην τιμην
[. . . . .]οις εξομεν οι το 43
[. . . . .] απολελιμμε
[. . . . .] τοις ε[ρ]γοις και
[. . . . .]νοια[ι]ς των κα
[. . . . .]ν τον χρονον
[. . . . .]ων οσον ο[ι μ]εν
[. . . . .] των ελλη[νω]ν
[. . . . .]ς την πατριδα

Col. 14. την εαυ[τ]ων ετολ[. . . .]
ε[κλι]πειν [κ]αι μαχομ[. . .]
[. . . . .]χουν[. . . . .]
βα[. . . . .]
δ υπερ τ[ης ημε]τερα[. . . . .]
πλεονεξ[ιας κιν]δυ[νευειν]
αξιουμεν [. . . . .]

[1] Received text *καὶ τὰ ἐναντία*, but the letter after *οι* seems to be *τ*. *εν* is too little to fill up the hiatus before line 36. Perhaps we should read *τ[α δε εν]αντια*.

[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. *το πρατ*.

απαντων [. . . . .] 44
[τ]ενεσθαι [. . . . .]
και[1] [. . . . .]
κρου δει προς [. . . . .]
θρωπους αναιρ[. . . . .]
δε τουτο[ν ο]υχ η[μ]ας αυτ[ους]
ασκουμ[εν] αλλ α[ν]θρωπου[ς]
[τ]ους μ[εν απολ]ι[δ]ας τους
[. . . . .]ους δ ε[κ]
[. . . . .]ουργιω[ν]
[. . . . .]υη[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]δω π[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]κειν[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]ουθ[. . . . .] 45
[About four lines are lost here]
[. . . . .]κ α[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]σχειν υπ[. . . . .]
[. . . . .] αρπαγη[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]ας μ[. . .]
[. . . . .]ν εφ η[. . .]
[. . . . .]νακ[. . .]
[Two lines are lost here]
ο[. . . . .]
ε[. . . . .] 46
θ[. . . . .]
ε[. . . . .] ημε
ρ[. . . . .]φειν
δ[. . . . .]ν κα[ι]

[1] Pap. και μεγαν μ[εν; but μεγαν μ[εν struck out by Pap.^{2}(?).

το[. . . . .]αχου[. . . . .]
τε[. . . . .]των ιδιαι [. . . .]
νο[. . . . .] και δασ[1]μ[. . . .]
γου[. . . . .]α τοις απ[. . . .]
κο[. . . . .]χθροις το[. . . .]
θον [. . . . .]ζωμεν [. . . .] 47
τω [. . . .]ειρους εσμ[. . . .]

Col. 15. προ[γον]ων ου μο[νο]ν ου
[. . . .]υδοκιμησ[αν]των
[. . . . .]αι των μισ[η]θεν
[. . . . .]ον εκεινοι μεν ει
[. . . . .]ειν προς τινας ψη
[. . . . .]το μεστης[2] ουσης αρ
[. . . . .]αι χρυσιου της ακ[3]ρο
[πολ]ε[ως] ομως υπερ των
[δο]ξαντων τοις αυτων σω
[μ]ασιν ωιοντο δειν κυ[4]ν
[δυ]νευειν ημεις δ εις[5] τοσαυτην[6]
[απ]οριαν εληλυθοτες και το
[. . . . .] πληθος οντες ωσ
[π]ερ βασ[ι]λευς ο μεγας μισθω
τοις χρωμεθα τοις στρατο
πεδοις [κ]αι τοτε μεν τριη 48
ρεις ει πληροιεν τους μ[εν]
[ξ]ενους και τους δουλους [. . .]

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. ο.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. μεστιουσης.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. γ.
[4] *Sic.*
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. δε τοσ.
[6] ην has perhaps been added by Pap.[2]

[τ]ας ενε[1]βιβαζον τους [. . .]
[π]ολιτας μεθ οπλων ε[. . .]
[. .]ν νυν δε τοις μεν ξε[. . .]
[. .]λιται[ς][2] χρωμεθα του[. . .]
[. .]λι[3]τας ελαυνειν αν[αγ]
[κα]ζομεν ωσθ οποταν [. . . .]
[. . .]ωσ[ι]ν εις την πολε[. . . .]
[. . . . .] αρχειν των ελ[. . .]
[. . . . .]ουντες υπηρε[. . . .]
[. . . . .]ς εγβαινουσιν ο[. . . .]
[. . . . .]ας φυσεις ουτε[. . .]
[. . . . .] προτερον δι[η][. . .]
[. . . . .]θ[4] οπλων κιν[. . . .]
[. . . . .] αλλα γαρ τα κα[. . . .] 49
[. . . . .]ων [. . . .][5]
[. . . . .]να [. . . . .]
[. . . . .]ρησειε[6]ν [. . . . .] αν
[. . . . .][7]ουτοις μ[. . . . .]αν
[. . . . .]ειεν οιτ[. . . . .]
[. . . . .] μεν ειν[. . . . .]
[Six lines lost]
[. . . . .]ν την η[με]
[. . . . .] διοικουμ[ε]ν
[. . . . .] πολεις ο[ι]
[. . . . .] σεμνυ[νο] 50

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. επιεβιβ.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. πολιτας
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. ει.
[4] Received text διῆλθον, μεθ' ὅπλων; but this is not enough to fill up the hiatus.
[5] Opposite this line begins a marginal note by Pap.[1] (?) of which κιν[δυ]νε[υου]σιν remains, apparently part of an alternative reading of lines 31, 32. The earlier part of the note is lost.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.
[7] αὐτοῖς seems to be omitted.

[. . . . .] φρο[νου]

Col. 16. μεν επι τω [. . . . .]
νται των αλλω[. . . . .]
μεταδιδομεν [. . . . .]
μενοις ταυτη[. . . . .]
ας η τριβ . . λο[. . . . .]
της δυσγ[1]ενε[. . . . .]
δε τιθεμε[. . . . .]
ολιγον αυτ[. . . . .]
με[ν] εν γαρ [. . . . .]
σεσθε[2] και [. . . . .]
ωστε θαν[. . . . .]
επι[3][κ]ειμε[. . . . .]
ρα τουτους α[. . . . .]
τους τουτο[4] φ[. . . . .]
ποιουντας στ[. . . . .]
ροτονουμεν κ[. . . . .]
πλει[5]τους των [. . . . .]
φθειραι δυνη[. . . . .]
τον επι τα μ[. . . . .]
πραγματων [. . . . .]
[σ]πουδαζοντ[. . . . .] 51
[. . . . .]αν [. . . . .]
[Six lines lost]
[. . . . .] δι[. . . .] κατα[. . .]
[. . . . .]ρος μ[εν τ]ου . . . [. . .]

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. δυσ. ενε.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. αι.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. επ.[κ].
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. ω.
[5] σ omitted.

ρ[ηνη]ς επι[θυ]μ[ουν]τας ως [ολι]
γα[ρχικο]υς ον[1]τα[2]ς δυσκο[λως]
ε[χομ]εν τους δε . ο . . [. . .]
μ[ον] ποιουντας ως τ . [. . .]
[. . . . .]ατι[3]ας κηδομ . . [. . .]
[. . . . .]ς ειναι νομιζομ[. . .]
[. . . . .]οτατοι δε [λ]ογων [. . .] 52
[. . . .]αι πραγματων ου[4][. . .]
[. . . . .]τως[5] εχομεν ωσ[τε]
περ[ι τ]ων αυτων της αυτ[ης][6] ημ[ε]
ρας[7] ου ταυτα γινωσκ[ο]
μεν αλλ ων μεν πριν ει[ς]
εκ[8]κλησιαν αναβη[. . . . .]
γορουμεν ταυτα συνε[λθον]
τες χε[9]ιροτονουμ[ε]ν ου [. . . .]
δε χρονον διαλι[. . . . .]
ενθαδε ψηφισθ[. . . . .]

Col. 17. [. . . . .]αλιν επιτιμω
[. . . . .]υμενοι [δ]ε σο
[. . . . .] ελληνι[ω]ν
[. . . . .] χρωμεθα
[. . .]β[. . . . .] ουκ εστιν
[. .]ις ο[. . . . .]αταφρονησει
[εν] και τ[. . . . .]τους τουτους

[1] Something has perhaps been written above ν.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.
[3] Pap. ει: ε struck out.
[4] The received text has λόγων καὶ πραγμάτων ὄντες οὕτως. We must probably read here [λ]ογων [ον]τες κ]αι πραγματων ου[τως.
[5] Inserted by Pap.[2] (?) above the line.
[6] Pap.[1]: Pap. της ημ.
[7] Pap.[1]: Pap. τερας.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. ν.
[9] Pap.[1] (?): Pap. χι.

[κυ]ριου[. . . . .]οινων απαν
των κα[. . . . .]μεν οι[ς] ουθεις
αν ουδεν [. . . .]διων επιτρε
ψειεν ο δ[. . . .]των σχε 53
[τ]λιωτατ[. . . .]ς γαρ αν ομο
[λ]ογησαιμ[. . . .]νηροτατους
[ε]ιναι των [. . .]ιτων του
[τ]ους ως[1] πιστοτ[ατο]υς φυλακας
[η]γουμεθα [της] πολειτειας
[κ]αι τους με[. . . .]τοικους
[το]ιουτου[. . . . .]
[. .]ν οιο[. . . . .]ς
[. .]τας ν[2]ε[. . . . .]
[. .]ομεθ[. . . . .]
[. .] . . ι δ[. . . . .]
[.]ωσιν η[. . . . .] 54
[.]διαφε[. . . . .]ο
[. .]ων [ο]σο[. . . . .]
[The rest of the column is lost]

Col. 18. ε[. . . . .] 55
[Two lines lost]
π[. . . . .]νικ[ω]ν [. . .]
γμ[. . . . .]ι των ενθ[α]
δ[. . . . .]εμ[ε]νων λεγω 56
δ[. . . . .] ου κ[ατ]α παντων
αλ[λα] και κατα των ενοχω[ν]
το[. . .]εγ[ομ]ενοις οντων

[1] Pap.[1]: Pap. [τ]ους πιστ. [2] Pap.[2]: Pap. τας ε.

επιλιποι δ αν με το λοιπον
μερος της ημε . .[1]ρας ει
πασας τας πλημμελιας
τας εν τοις πραγμασι γι
νο[μ]ενας εξεταξειν επι
χε[ιρ]ησαιμι ταχ ουν[2] αν τις 57
των σφοδρα τοις λεγομε
νοις ενοχων οντων αγα
νακτησας ερωτησειεν
πως ουν ειπ[ερ] ουτως κα
κως βουλευ[ο]μεθα σω
ζ[3]ομεθ[4]α κα[ι] δυναμιν ου
δεμιας πολ[ε]ως ελαττω
τυγχανομε[ν] κεκτημε
νοι ε[γ]ω δε προ[ς] τα[υ]τα απο[5]
κρε[. . . . .] οτι τους αν
τιπ[. . . . .]εν [ο]υδεν
[β]ε[. . . . .]ονουν
τας [. . . . .] μαχην 58
ην ε[. . . . .]αιοι λα
κε[6]δ[. . . . .]ινοι
μεν [. . . . .]ντες
την [. . . . .]ν και
τους αλλ[. . . . .]ους
. . . . ησα[. . . . .]ν
ειχον η[. . . . .]α

[1] There is a space of two letters between ε and ρ. Perhaps ημετερας has been written (as col. 16, lines 34, 35) and τε washed out.

[2] Pap.[3](?): Pap. ταχα δ αν.

[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. σ.

[4] Perhaps a correction by Pap.[2]

[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. προ.

[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. αι.

εξημαρτ[. . . . .] αν ου

τος εσχε [. . . . .] ποιησασ[1]

θαι την ερ[. . . . .]μεις

τ[2] αν εγνω[3][. . . . .]ρειτ

τον εστι . [. . . . .]υ

πολυπραγ[. . . . .] 59

ταυθα τα [. . . . .]

ριεστηκεν [. . . . .]

οι μεν ημ[. . . . .]

Col. 19. [The first 8 lines are lost]

[. .] . . . . . εγω[. . . . .]

[Two lines lost through the peeling off of the top layer of papyrus]

κα[. . . . .]κρα[4] [. . . . .] 60

δυν| . . . . . |υς | . . . . . |

των | . . . . . |ν | . . . . . |

σιν | . . . | ελπι[. . . . . |

της σ[. . . . .] α[. . . . . |

αυτω[ν] πραγ[. . . . .]

αυτω[ν] διανο[. . . . .]

γαρ δια [τ]ην εκ[. . . . .]

τ[5]ιαν σ[υ]μβαι[6]ον [. . . . .]

θον τ[. . . .] αν [. . . . . |

λαβοι μεταβο[. . . . .]

ημας αυτους γ[. . . . .]

βεβαιο[. . . .]ς [. . . . .]

[1] ποιησασ perhaps written by Pap.[2] in place of something washed out.

[2] Pap.[3]: Pap. δ.

[3] Pap.[3]: Pap. ειτιω.

[4] The reading is probably κα[ι τοις μ]κρα.

[5] *Sic*; received text ἀμαθίαν.

[6] ν omitted.

μαλλον [. . . . .]
ημειν π[. . . . .] 61
εικη[1] τας επι[2]λ[. . . . .]
ποιουμ[ε]νους ο[. . . . .]πον
αντ[3]ιπ[ει]ν ει δε [. . . . .] μοι
παραστ[α]ς των [. . . . .]κεσ
σ[4]τερον δ[ι]ακειμ[. . . . .] αλη
θη μεν [λ]εγειν [. . . . .][5]λο
[γ]ησειε[ν] και π[. . . .] . . ν
[τ]ω . . . . . μα[. . . .] . . . .[6]
δ ειναι [φα]ιη το[υς επ ε]υνοι
αι νουθ[ε]τουν[τας μη] μο
νον κατ[η] . . ρ . . [. . . . .]ε
πραγ . . . ων α[. . . .]αι
σ[υ]μβου[λ]ευειν [. . . . .] απε 62
χομεν[οι] και πο[. . . . .]ε
γο[μ]ενο[ι] παυσο[7][. . . .]αυ
την εχον[τ]ες τη[. . . .]ω[8]
[. .]ν κα[ι] . . . . . [. .]ξ[α]μαρ
[. . .]ονται[.] . . . . . [.] λογος

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. ο.

[2] Doubtful. The reading may perhaps be υπο.

[3] ε has perhaps been inserted above. The papyrus has peeled here, but there are traces which might be the top of ε.

[4] Inserted by Pap.[2] The σ at the end of line 20 has perhaps been struck out, but the ink is too faint to decide with certainty.

[5] Received text λέγειν με προσομολογήσειε; but this is far too much. Probably we should read [λ]εγειν [με ομο]λο[γ]ησειε[ν].

[6] Received text προσηκόντως ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς γιγνομένοις, δίκαιον δ' εἶναι κ.τ.λ.; but this is too much. If the readings given above are correct, τοις γιγνομενοις is omitted.

[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. ω.

[8] If the reading is τη[ν γν]ω[μη]ν the letters in the first hiatus must have been broad. We should expect at least four letters. The ω however is scarcely visible, and if written broad and shallow might occupy a good deal of space.

45 [. . .]ρειν αν με [π]οιησει
[. . .]πο[κρι]σεως ο[υ]κ αλη

Col. 20. [. . . . .]φερουσης αλ
[. . . . .] υμιν ου μην
[. . . . .]ρ αποκεκα
[. . . . .] ωρμημαι λε
5 [. . . . .]ητεον απο
[. . . . .]αι περι τουτων
[. . . . .] υπαρχειν δει 63
[. . . . .]σιν ευδοκιμη
[. . . . .]σεβειαν και
10 [. . . . .]νην και την αλ
[. . . . .] ολιγω προτε
[. . .] ειρηκαμε[1]ν ως δ αν
[. .]χιστα προς το τοιουτοι
[. . .]εσθαι παιδευθειημεν
15 αλη[θ]ε[ς] μεν εστιν το ρη
θη[. . . .]νον ισως δ αν ακου
σασ[. . . .] . . ν δεινον ειναι
δοξειεν και[2] πολυ [τ]ης των
αλλων εξηλλαγμενον δι
20 ανοιας . . . γα[ρ ηγ]ο[υμ]αι και 64
την πολιν ημας αμεινον
οικησειν και βελτειους
αυτους εσ[εσ]θαι και προς
απασας τας πραξεις επι
25 δωσειν ην π[α]υσωμεθα

[1] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. *ει*.

[2] Something has been written above the line, probably *παρα*; but the papyrus is much rubbed at this place.

της α[ρ]χης της κατα θαλατ
ταν επιθυμ[. . . .]ες αυτη
γαρ εστιν η κα[. . . . .] εις ταρα
χην η[μ]ας [. . . . .]ασα[1]
και την δημ[. . . . .] . . ει[2]
νην καταλυ[. . . . .]α με
θ ης οι προγ[. . . . .]ντε[ς]
ε . . . . μο . . . [. . . . .] . των
ελληνων η[. . . . .] σχε
δον απαντων [. . . .]ία των
κακων ων α[. . . .] τε εχο[3]
μεν κα[ι] τοις α[. . . .] παρε
χομεν οιδα μ[. . . .]υν οτι 65
χαλεπ[4]ον [. . .]ιν δυ
ναστειας υπο π[. . .]ων
ερωμενης [. . . . .]ιμα
χητου [γε]γενη[. . . .]ς κα
τηγορουντα δοκ[. . . .]νε
κτόν τι[5] λεγειν ο[μω]ς δ[6] επει[7]
δη περ υπεμειν[. . . .] και

Col. 21. τ[. . . . .] λογους [. . .]
θε[. . . . .]ας φιλαπ[8]ε
χθ[. . . . .] και τουτων
υμ[. . . . .]θαι δεομαι
κα[. . . . .]ωναι μου τοι 66

[1] If this reading is right, the line is somewhat shorter than the others.
[2] Or possibly εκι.
[3] Pap.[3] (?): Pap. τ εχο.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. χαλεπωτατον.
[5] τι overlined (by Pap.[2]?) as if intended to be deleted. Accent on τόν by Pap.[2]
[6] Pap.[3]: Pap. ο[μω]ς επ.
[7] Pap.[3]: Pap. επι.
[8] Pap. φιλαπρε: ρ struck out.

αυ[. . . . .] ως αρ εγω
πρ[. . . . .][1]ιαλεχθηναι
πρ[. . .]μας περι πραγματων
ουτω [π]αραδοξων ει μη τι
λεγ[ειν] αληθες ειχον πε
ρι αυ[. . . . .] οιμαι πα
σι φαν[. . . . .]σειν ως
ουτε [. . . . .] αρχης επι
θυμ[. . . . .]υτε γενεσθαι
δυνα[τ]ης ουτε συμφερου
σης η[μι]ν οτι μεν ουν ου 67
δικαια[2] παρ υμων . . . . ν
εχω υμ[α]ς[3] διδασκειν
οτε γαρ [λακ]ε[δ]αιμονιοι ταυ
την ει[. . .] την δυναμιν
π[ο]ιους [. . .]υς ουκ ανηλω
σα[4]με[ν] κατηγορου[5]ντες
μεν τ[η]ς εκεινων αρχης
διεξιοντες δ ως[6] δικαιον
εστιν [α]υτονομους[7] ειναι
τους ελ[λ]ηνας τινας δε 68
των π[. . . .]ν τω[ν] των[8]
[ελ]λογιμ[ω]ν[9] ου παρεκα

[1] The ἄν of the received text must be omitted.

[2] *Sic*, instead of received δικαιας. α is followed by what seems the beginning of π, and there is not room between α and ρ for more than two letters.

[3] Strokes are placed before εχω and before and after υμας, apparently to indicate that the order must be reversed.

[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. ο.

[5] Pap.[1]: Pap. κατηγορειν.

[6] Pap. ω δικ: ς added above the line.

[7] Pap.[1]: Pap. om. ς.

[8] *Sic*.

[9] Pap.[2](?): Pap. [ελ]λην[ιδω]ν.

. ε . .[1] [ε]πι την συμμα
χιαν τ[η]ν υπερ τουτων
συστα[σα]ν ποσας δε πρεσ
β . . . . . [. . .] . . λεα τον
μ[. . . . .]εστειλαμεν
διδα[ξ][2]ουσ[ας] αυτον ως ου
τε δικαιον εστιν ουτε
συμφερον μιαν πολιν
κυριαν ειναι των ελ
λη[. . . .] ου προτερον
δ επαυσ[α]μεθα πολε
μουντες και κινδυνευ
οντες και κατα γην και
κατα θαλασσαν πριν ηθε
λησαν λ[α]κεδαιμονιοι ποι
ησασθαι τας συνθηκας[3]

Col. 22. τας περι της αυτονομ[ια]ς
οτι μεν ουν ου δικαιον [ε]σ 69
τιν τους κρε[4]ιττους τω[ν η]τ
τονων αρχειν εν εκε[ινοι]ς
τε τοις χρονοις τυγχ[αν]ο
μεν εγνωκοτες κ[. . . . .] επι[5]
της πολιτιας της π[. . . . .]ν
καθεστηκυϊας ως δ ου[δ α]ν

[1] There is not room for παρεκαλεσαμεν. Something must have been omitted.

[2] This is more probable than σκ, for which there is not room.

[3] At the foot of this column Pap.[2] has written the words πριν ηναγκασαμεν λακεδαι|μ[ονιο]υς ποιησασθ, as a note on, or alternative reading to, πριν ηθελ. κ.τ.λ.

[4] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. κριττ.

[5] επι apparently Pap.[1] It projects into the margin.

δυνηθειημεν την α[. . .]ν
ταυτην κατα . στ[1]ρεψα[σθα]ι
ταχεως οιμαι δηλωσε[. . .]
ἡν γαρ μετα μυριων ταλ[α]ν
των ουχ οιοι τ ημεν[2] διαφυλαξα[ι·]
[3] πως αν ταυτην εκ τη[ς]
παρουσης απορίας κτησασθ[αι]
δυνηθει[4]μεν ἁλλως τε [κ]αι[5]
χρωμενοι το[ι]ς ηθεσιν ο[υ]
χ οις ελαβομεν αλλ' αι[6]ς απ[ω]
λεσαμεν αυτην ως τοι 70
νυν ουδ[7]ε δεξασθαι τηι[8]
πολει διδομενην συμφε
ρει δοκειτε μοι ταχιστ αν
εκειθεν καταμαθειν μα[λ]
λον δε και περι τουτων βου
λομαι μικρα προειπειν δε
δοικα γαρ μη δ[ι]α το πολλοις
επ[ι]τιμαν δοξω τισι προη[9]
ρησθαι της πολεως κατη
γορειν εγω δ ει μεν προς αλ 71
[10]λους τινας επεχειρουν
ουτω διεξιεναι περι των
πραγματων εικοτως

[1] A letter or curved line (⌒) is written between α and σ.
[2] Pap.[3]: Pap. οιοι τ η διαφ.
[3] Pap. διαφυλαξα[σ]θαι: θαι struck out by Pap.[2], and σ no doubt corrected to ι.
[4] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. δυνηθειημεν.
[5] [κ]αι perhaps Pap.[1] (Pap. om.).
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. αλλως.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. τ.
[8] Pap. τη διδ: Pap.[1] struck out διδ; ι adscript add. Pap.[2]
[9] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. ει.
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. ληλους.

αν ειχον την αιτ[ι]αν ταυ
την νυν δε προς υ[1]μας ποι
ουμαι τους λογους ου διαβαλ
λειν ετεροις επιθυμων αλ
λ αυτους υμας βουλομενος
παυσαι τοιουτων εργων
και την ειρηνην περι ης
απας ο λογος εστιν βεβαιως
και την πολιν και τους αλλους
ελληνας αγαγειν αναγκη 72
δε τους νουθετου[ν]τας και
τους κατηγορουντας τοις
μεν λογοις χρησθα[ι] παρα
πλησιοι[2]ς τας δε διανοιας

Col. 23. εχειν αλληλα[3]ις ως οιον
τε εναντιωτατας ωσ
τε περι των ταυτα λεγον
των ουκ αιει προσηκει την
αυτην[4] γνωμην εχειν υμας
αλλα τους μεν επι βλαβη[5] λοι
δορουντας μι[6]σειν ως κα
κονους οντας τη πολει τους
δ επ ωφελιαι νουθετουντας
επαινειν και βελτιστους
των πολιτων νομιζειν
και τουτων αυτων μαλιστα 73

[1] Pap. η : υ written above.
[2] Pap.[1](?): Pap. πλησιως.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. ο.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. δε την.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ι.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. ει.

τον εναργεστατα[1] δυναμε
νον δηλωσαι τας πονη
ρας[2] των πραξεων και τας
συμφορας τας απ αυτων
γινομενας ουτος[3] γαρ αν τα
χιστα ποιησειεν υμας μει
σησαντ[. . . .] δει βελτιονων
επιθυμη[σαι] πραγματων
υπερ μ[. . . .]ν της των λογων
τ[4]ραχυτη[τ]ος και των ειρημε
νων και των ρηθησε[5]σθαι
μελλοντων ταυτ εχω λε
γειν προς υμας οθεν δ απε
λιπο[6]ν παλιν[7] ποιησομαι την
αρχην εφασκον γαρ εκει 74
θε[ν] καλλιστ αν υμας κα
ταμαθειν ως ου συμφε
ρει λαβειν την κατα[8] θαλατταν
αρχην ει σκεψαισθε[9] τινα
τροπον η πολις διεκειτο[10]
πριν[11] την δυναμιν ταυ
την κτησασθαι και πως
επειδη κατεσχεν αυτην
ην γαρ ταυτα παρ αλληλα

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. perhaps ενεργοτατα.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. πονηρι as.
[3] Pap.[1]: Pap. ουτω.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. β.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. υμειν.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. κατα.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. σκεψασθαι.
[10] Pap. δεκειτο: Pap.[2] has inserted ι and written υπ in the margin as an alternative reading.
[11] Pap.[2]: Pap. πριν η.

τη διανοιαι θεωρησητε[1] γνω
σεσθε οσων κακων αιτια[2]
τη πολει γο[3]γονεν η μεν τοι 75
νυν πολι[4]τεια τοσουτω
βελτειων και κρε[5]ιττων
η τοτε της υστερον[6] κα
ταστασης οσωπερ αρι
στειδης[7] και θεμιστοκλης
και μιλτιαδης ανδρες
αμεινους ησαν

Col. 24. ευ[8]βουλου κ[αι] κλεοφωντος
και των [νυ]ν δημηγορουν
των τον [δε] δημον ευρησε
τε τον τ[οτ]ε πολιτευομε
νον ουκ α[ργι]ας ο[υ]δ απορίας
ουδε κεν[ων] ελπιδων ουτα
μεστον α[λλ]α νικαν μεν δυ 76
ναμενον [ε]ν[9] ταις μαχαις
παντας τ[ου]ς εις την χω[ρ]αν
εισ[10]βαλλο[ν]τας αριστειων
δ α[11]ξιουμενον των υπερ
της ελλαδος κινδυνων[12]
ουτω δε πιστευομενον
ωστε τας πλειστας των

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. θεωρας τε.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. εν αυ.
[3] *Sic.*
[4] Pap. ει: ε struck out.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. κριτ.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. υστερον η.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. αρισ|τειδης.
[8] Pap.[3]: Pap. υπερ‖βουλου.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. [. .]πι.
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. εμ.
[11] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε (?).
[12] Pap.[2]: Pap. εν τοις κ.τ.λ. κινδυνοις.

πολεων αυτω εκουσας
εγχει[1]ρισαι [2]φ[α]ς αυτας του 77
των δ υπαρχοντων αν
τι μεν της πολιτειας της
παρα πασιν ευδοκουσης
επι τοιαυτην ακολασιαν
η δυναμις ημας αυτη προ
ηγαγεν ην ουθεις αν[3] αν
θρωπων επαι[4]νεσει[5]εν
αντι δ[6]ε τ[7]ου νικαν τους
επιστρατευ[σ]αντας ουτω
τους πολι[8]τας επαιδευ
σε[9]ν ωστε μηδε προ
των[10] τιχων τολμαν επε
ξιεναι τοις πολεμιοις
αντι δε της ευνοιας της 78
παρα των συμμαχων
αυτοις[11] υπαρχουσης και
της δοξης της παρα των
αλλων ελληνων εις το
σουτο μεισος κατεστη
σα[12]ν ωστε παρα μικρον
ελθειν εξανδραποδισ
θηναι την πολιν ει μη

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. *ενχι*.
[2] *σ* omitted.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. *η νουθεσιαν*. The corrector has placed a stroke after *ην* to mark the proper division.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. *ε*.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. *τ*.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. *μ*.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. *ν*.
[8] Pap. *ει*: *ε* struck out.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. *α*.
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. *προς | τον*.
[11] Pap.[2]: Pap. *αυτη*.
[12] Pap.[2]: Pap. *ε*.

λ[1]ακεδαιμονιων των
εξ αρχης πολεμουντων
ευνουστερων ετυχο
μεν η των προτερον
ημιν συμμαχων ον[2]των
οις ουκ αν δικαιως εγ 79
καλοιμεν[3] οτι χαλεπως[4]

Col. 25. π[ρο]ς ημας διετεθησ[αν]
ου [γ]αρ αρχοντες αλλ αμ[υ]
νο[μ]ενοι και πολλα δει[να]
παθ[ο]ντες τοιαυτην εσχ[ον]
γνω[μ]ην περι ημων[5] τις
γαρ [. . . .]πεμεινεν την
ασελγεια[ν] των πατερ[ων]
των ημετερων οι συναγαγ[ον][6]
τες [ε]ξ απασης της ελ
λαδος τους[7] αργοτατους και
τους και[8] απασων των
πονηριων μετεχον
τας πληρουντες τουτων
τας τριηρεις απηχθανον
το τοις ελλησι και τους μεν
βελτισ[τ]ους των εν ταις
αλλαις πολεσιν εξε[9]βαλ

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. μ.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ν.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. εγκαλοιημεν.
[4] ς possibly added by Pap.[2]
[5] Pap.[1]: Pap. ημας.
[6] Pap.[1]: Pap. συναγ[ον].
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. τους.
[8] Received text τοὺς ἁπασῶν. και may perhaps have been struck out, but it is impossible to be certain, the ink being extremely faint.
[9] Perhaps a correction from γ.

λον τοις δε[1] πονηροτατοις
των ελληνων τα εκει
νων διενεμον αλλα γαρ 80
ει τολμησαιμι περι των
ε . . ειvοις τοις χρονοις
γενομενων ακρειβως
διελθειν υμας μεν αν ι
σως ποιησαιμι[2] βελτειον βου
λευσασθαι περι των πα
ρoντων αυτος δ αν δια[3]βλη
θειη[4]ν ειωθατε γαρ μι[5]
σειν[6] ουχ ουτως τους αιτιους
των αμαρτηματων ως
τους κατ[η]γορουντας αυ
των τοι[αυ]την ουν[7] ημων
γνωμην εχοντων δεδοι
κα μη πειρωμενος υμας 81
ευεργετ[ε]ιν αυτος απολαυ
σω τι φλα[υρο]ν[8] ου μην απο
στησομα[ι π]ανταπασιν ων
διενοηθ[η]ν αλλα τα μεν
π[9]ικροτατα και μαλιστ αν[10] υμας
λυπησο[11]ντα παραλειψω μνησ
σ[12]θησομαι δε τουτων μονον

[1] Pap.[1]: Pap. υ.
[2] Pap. ποιησω: Pap.[2] has altered ω to αι and then written αιμι above.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. δια.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. ο(?).
[5] Pap. ει: ε struck out.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ν.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. χ.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. φαυλον.
[9] Pap.[1](?): Pap. μ.
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ν.
[11] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.
[12] Added by Pap.[3], who may have struck out the σ in line 40.

εξ ὠν γνωσεσθε την[1] α[2]νοιαν των
τοτε πολιτευομενων ουτω 82
γαρ ακρει[β]ως [3]ευρισκον

Col. 26. εξ ων αν ανθρωποι τα
μαλιστα μεισηθ[ε]ιεν ωσ
τ εψηφισαντο το περιγινο
μενον των φορων αργυ
ριον διελοντες κατα τα
[λ]αν[τ]ον εις την ορχη[4]
στρ[5]αν τοις διονυσιοις εισ[6]
φερειν επειδαν [π]ληρες
ηι[7] το θεατ[8]ρον κ[α]ι ταυτ ε
ποιουν και παρεισηγ[ο]ν τους
παιδας των εν τ[ω] πολε
μωι τετελευτηκοτων
αμφοτεροις επι[9]δε[ι]κνυν
τες τοις μεν αλλοις συμμα
χοις τας τιμας της ουσιας
αυτων υπο μισθωτων
εισφερομενας τοις δ αλλοις
ελλησιν το πληθος των ορ
φανων και τας συμφορας

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. την.

[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. αγ.

[3] Pap. εξευρισκον: εξ overlined as a sign of deletion (by Pap.[2]?).

[4] Above the middle of this line something (ᾳν . . . ν) has been written and afterwards struck out. σ has been written after η and struck out, apparently by the first hand.

[5] A letter appears to have been written after ρ.

[6] Pap. εs, and this has been corrected (by Pap.[1]?), by inserting a stroke before s; but as this stroke and the curve of c are run together, it is impossible to decide with certainty whether εκ or εις is intended.

[7] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. σην.

[8] Pap.[1]: Pap. δ.

[9] Pap. ει: ε struck out.

τας δια την πλεονεξιαν
ταυτην γινομενας και 83
ταυτα δρωντες αυτην
την πολιν ευδαιμονιζον[1]
και πολλοι των νουν ουκ ε
χοντων εμακαριζον
αυτην των μεν συμβη
σεσθαι δια ταυτα μελ
λοντων ουδεμιαν ποι
ουμενοι προνοιαν τον
δε πλουτον ζηλουν
τες και θαυμαζοντες
ος αδικως εις την πολιν[2] εισελ
θων και τον δικαιως
υπαρξαντα δια ταχεων
ημελλεν προσαπολειν
εις τουτο γαρ κατεστη 84
σα[3]ν των μεν οικειων
αμελειας των δ αλ
λοτριων επιθυμιας
. . . . . ακε[4]δαιμονιω[5]ν
ε[ι]σβεβληκοτων εις
την χωραν και του τει
χους ηδη του δεκελι[6]

Col. 27. ἆσι[7] συ[ν]εστηκοτος

[1] Short strokes have been made (by Pap.[2]?) at the ends of lines 23–31.
[2] Pap.[1]: Pap. om. πολιν.
[3] Pap.[2](?): Pap. ε.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. αι.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε. The corrector has made a mark over the ε of δε, the purpose of which is doubtful.
[7] Pap. ει: ε struck out (by Pap.[1]?).

εις σικε[λ]ιαν τρι[η]ρεις [ε]πλη
ρουν και [ου]κ ησχυνοντο την
μεν πατ[ρι]δα τεμνομε
νην και [πο]ρθουμενην πε
ριορωντ[ες] επι δε τους[1] [ου]
δεν πω[πο]τε εις ημας
εξαμαρτ[ο]ντας στρατει
[2]αν εκπε[μ]ποντες αλλ εις 85
τουτο α[. .][3]συνης ηλθον
ωστε των [. . .] . αστειων
των οικε[ιων] ου κρατουν
τες ιτα[λι]ας και σικ[ελ]ι
ας και[4] καρχηδο[ν]ο[δ]ς αρ[6]ξειν
προσεδοκ[ησα]ν . . . . .
δε διη[ν]εγκαν ανοιαι[7] . . παν
των α . . . . πων ωσ[τε]
τους μεν αλλους αι συμ[φο]
ραι συστελλ[ο]υσι και ποιου
σι σωφρον[ε]στερους εκει
νοι δ ουδ υπο τουτων ε
παιδευθη[σ]αν καιτοι πλεοσι[8] 86
κακοις και μει[9]ζοσι περι
επεσον επι της αρχης ταυ

[1] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. τουτ.

[2] ω has been written in the margin (by Pap.[3] ?) opposite the beginning of this line.

[3] If the reading is α[φρο]συνης, the letters between the brackets must have been somewhat compressed.

[4] Pap.[1] (?): Pap. om. και.

[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.

[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. αξειν.

[7] Pap. -καν οια δ ą. Pap.[2] has inserted αν and ι. It is uncertain whether δ ą has been struck out.

[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. πλιοσ|ει.

[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. μι.

της των[1] εν απαντι τωι
χρονωι[2] τηι[3] πολει γεγενη[με]
νων εις αιγυπτον μεν γε[4]
διακοσιαι πλευσασαι τριηρεις[5]
αυτοις πληρωμασιν διεφθα
ρησαν περι δε κυπρον πεν
τηκοντα και εκατον εν δε
τω δε[6]κελικω πολεμωι μυρι
ους οπλιτας αυτων και των
συμμαχων απωλεσαν εν
σικελια δε τετταρας[7] μυρια
δας και τριηρεις τεσσερακον
τα και διακοσιας το δε τελευ[8]
ταιον εν ελλησποντωι[9]
διακοσιας τας δε κατα δεκα 87
και κατα πεντε και πλειους
τουτων απολλυμενας και τους
κατα χιλιους και δισχιλιους
αποθνησκοντας τις αν εξα
ριθμησειεν πλην εν ην τουτο

Col. 28. [τ]ο ταφας[10] ποιειν[10] των[10]
[ε]νκυκλιων[10] ———————

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. της η επι των.
[2] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. των χρονων.
[3] Pap. τη: ι added above.
[4] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. γα[ρ].
[5] In the margin after τριηρεις Pap.[2] (?) has written π[λ]εουσαι.
[6] Pap. τω κελικω. Pap.[2] has added δε above the line. ελ is smeared, but probably not meant to be struck out.
[7] Pap.[1]: Pap. τετταεις.
[8] In the margin after τελευ, Pap.[2](?) has written και | εκα|τον, as an alternative reading to και διακοσιας.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. ελλησποντωι και.
[10] Strokes are placed (by Pap.[2]) over these words, probably to indicate that the order is wrong.

——[1] καθ εκαστον ενιαυ
[τ]ον εις ας πολλοι των ασ
[τ]υγειτονων και των αλ
[λ]ων ελληνων εφοιτων[2]
[ο]υ συνπενθησοντες
[το]υς τεθνεωτας αλλ εφησ
[θη]σομενοι ταις ημετε
[ραι]ς συμφοραις τελευν[3] 88
τωντες δ ελαθον σ[4]φας αυ
τους τους[5] μεν ταφους
τους δημοσιους των πο
λιτων εμπλησαν
τας δε φρατριας και τα
γραμ[μ]ατεια τα ληξιαρ
[χ]ικα των ουδε . . . . . ο
λει προ[σ]ηκοντων γνο[ι]η
δ αν[6] τις εκειθεν μ[α]
λιστα το πληθος των
απολλυμενων τα γαρ [γ]ε
νη των ανδρων των
ονομαστοταντων[7] και
τους οικους τους μεγισ
τους οι και τας τυραννι
κας στασεις και τον περ
σικον πολεμον διεφυγον

[1] Pap. [ε]νκυκλιων καθεστη|[κ]εν: καθεστη[κ]εν struck out.
[2] των corrected by Pap.[2] from π (?).
[3] *Sic*, apparently.
[4] Pap.[1]: Pap. om.
[5] Pap.[1]: Pap. om. ς.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. μη(?)δ αν.
[7] Pap. ονομασταντων: Pap.[2] has inserted ο τ but not struck out ν.

ευρησομεν επι της αρχης
ης επεθυμουμεν αναστα
τους γεγενημενους ως 89
τε ει[1] τις σκοπεισθαι βουλοι
το περι των αλλων ωσπερ
προς παραδειγμα τουτ'[2] ανα
φερων φανειημεν αν
μικρου δειν αντηλλα
γμενοι καιτοι χρη πολιν[3]
μεν ευδαιμονα νομιζειν[4] μη
την εξ απαντων των αν
θρωπων εικη πολλους
πολιτας[5] αθροιζουσαν αλ
λα την το γενος των εξ αρ
χης[6] την πολιν οικησαντων
μαλλον των αλλων δια
σωζο[υ]σαν ανδρας δε ζη[7]

Col. 29. λο[υ]ν μη του[ς] τας τυραννιδας
κατεχοντας μηδε τους μει
ζω δυναστειαν του δικαιου κε
κτημενους αλλα τους αξιους
μεν ουτας της μεγιστης τει
μης και χαιροντας[8] επι ταις υπο
του πληθους [δι]δομεναις ταυ 90

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ει.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. ς.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. πολεω. Pap.[2] has struck out ν and then re-written it above.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. ευδαιμονιζειν.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. ποιητας.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ς.
[7] At the foot of this column a note has been written and washed out. It is now quite illegible.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. μης στεργοντας δε.

της γαρ εξιν[1] ουτε [α]νηρ[2] ουτε πολις
λαβειν αν δυ[να]ιτο σπουδαιοτε
ραν ουδ ασφα[λε]στεραν ουδε[3]
πλεονο[4]ς αξια[ν η]νπερ οι περι τα
περσικα [γ]ενομ[ε]νοι εχοντες ου
χ ομοιως τοις λησταις εβιωσαν
. . . . . ιω των ικανων
εχ[ο]ντες τοτε δ εν σ[5]ειτοδε[6]ιαις
και πολιορκιαις και τοις μεγισ
[τ]οις κακο[ι]ς καθεστωτες αλ
λ[α] πε[7]ρι την τροφην την καθ η
μεραν ουτ εν ενδειαις ουτ εν
υπερβολαις οντες επι δε τηι
της πολιτιας δικαιοσυνη[8] και ταις
αρεταις ταις αυτων φιλοτει
μουμενοι και τον βιον ηδειον
των αλλ[ω]ν διαγοντες ων αμε 91
λησα[ν]τες οι γενομενοι μετ ε
κεινου[ς] ο[υ]κ αρχειν αλλα τυραν
νειν [ε]πε[θ]υμησαν α δοκει
μεν τ[η]ν αυτην εχειν δυναμιν
πλειστον δ αλληλων κεχωρισ
ται των μεν γαρ αρχοντων ερ
γον εστιν τους αρχομενους

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. εξιν.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. ουτ αν [α]νηρ.
[3] Something has been struck out (by Pap.[2]) after ε, but it has perhaps been only a mark to fill up the line.
[4] Pap.[2](?): Pap. α.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. om.
[6] Above ε a corrector has written ος or ον, which has been struck out by Pap.[2]
[7] Apparently a correction.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. οντες λεγω δε ταις | της πολεως δικαιοσυναις.

ταις αυτων επιμελειαις ποι
ειν[1] ευδαιμονεστερους τοις δε
τυραννοις εθος καθεστηκεν
τοις των αλλων πονοις και κα
κοις εαυτοις ηδονας παρασκευ
αζειν αναγκη δε τους τοιουτοις
εργοις επιχιρουντας τυραννι
και[2]ς και ταις συμφοραις περιπει
πτειν[3] και τοιαυτα πασχειν οια
περ αν και τους αλλους δρασω
σιν α και τη πολει συνεπεσεν 92
αντι γαρ του φρουρειν[4] τας των
αλλων ακροπολεις της αυτων
επιδον τους πολεμιους κυριους

Col. 30. γενομενους αντι [δε το]υ παιδας
ομηρους λαμβανειν [α]ποσπων[5]
τας απο πατερων κα[ι μ]ητερων
πολλοι των πολιτων ηναγκασ
θησαν τους αυτων εν [τ]η πολιορκιαι[6]
χειρον παιδευειν και τρεφειν
η προσηκεν αυτοις αντι δε
του γεωργε[ιν] τας χω[ρ]ας τας
αλλοτριας πολλων ετων ου
δε ϊδειν αυτοις εξεγενετο την
αυτων ωστ ει τις ημας ερω[τ]η 93
σειεν ει δεξ[αι]μεθ αν τοσουτον

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. εις.
[2] Pap.[1]: Pap. om. ι.
[3] Pap.[1](?): Pap. om. ν.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. φρονειν.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. [α]ποστον.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. ορκιαι.

χρονον αρξαντε[1]ς [τ]οιαυτα πα
θουσαν [τ]ην πολιν . . . . . ν τις
αν ομολογησειεν πλην ει μη[2] τις
πανταπασιν απονε[ν]οημε
νος εστιν και μητε ιερων μη
τε γονεων μητε παιδων[3] μητ[4] αλλ[ου μ]ηδε
νος φροντιζει[5] πλη[ν] του χρο
νου μονον[6] του καθ εαυτον [ω]ν ουκ α
ξιον την διανοιαν ζηλουν
αλλα πολυ μαλλον των πολ
λην προνοιαν απαντων
τουτων ποιουμενων και
μηθεν ηττον υπερ τ[η]ς κοι
νης δοξης η της ιδιας φιλοτ[ι]
μουμε[νω]ν και προαιρουμε
νων μετριον εχειν[7] βιον μετα δ[ι]
καιοσυνης μαλλον η μεγαν[8]
πλουτον μετ' αδικ[ι]ας[9] . . . 94
γαρ οι προγ[10]ονοι τοιουτους αυτους
παρασχοντε[11]ς την τε πολιν ευ
δαιμονεστατην τοις επιγιν[ο]
μενοις παρεδοσαν και της αυ
των αρετης α[12]θανατον την
μνημην κατελιπον ε[ξ] ων

[1] Or perhaps α; but the papyrus is much rubbed here.
[2] Pap. ει τις: μη written above.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. μητε παιδων.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. μηδ.
[5] Pap. φροντιζειν: ν struck out.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. μονον.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. εχειν.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ν.
[9] Pap. perhaps μετα δικαιας. Pap.[2] has added the apostrophe and altered αι to ας, but seems not to have struck out the original ας.
[10] Pap.[1]: Pap. om. γ.
[11] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.
[12] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. α.

αμφοτερα[1] ραιδιον εστιν κα
ταμαθειν και την χωραν ημων
οτι δυναται τρεφειν ανδρα[2]ς αμει
νους των αλλων και την καλου
μενην μεν αρχην ουσαν δε συμ
φοραν οτι πεφυκε χειρους απαν
τας ποιειν τους χρωμενους αυ
τη μεγιστον δε τεκμηριον ου

Col. 31. γαρ μονον ημας αλλα και την
λακεδαιμονιων πολιν[3] διε
φθειρε[4]ν ωστε τοις ειθισμενοις
επαινειν τας εκεινων α[ρε]τας
ουχ οιον τ εστιν ειπειν το[υτ]ον
τον λογον ως ημεις μεν δ[ι]α το
δημοκρατεισθαι κακως εχρη
σαμεθα[5] τοις πραγμασιν ε[ι] δε λα
κεδαιμονιοι ταυτην την δυ
ναμιν παρε[6]λαβον ευδαιμονα[7]ς
αν και τους αλλους και σφας αυτους
εποιησαν πολυ γαρ θαττον[8]
εκεινοις επεδειξα[9]το την φυσιν

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. *αμφοτερων*.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. *ε*.
[3] Pap.[3] (?): Pap. *χωραν*.
[4] Pap.[1] (?): Pap. *α*.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. *εχρησ μεθα*.
[6] Pap.[1]: Pap. *α*.
[7] Pap.[1]: Pap. *ι*.
[8] The words *και τους—σφας* and *εποιησαν—θαττον* appear to have been written later than the rest (by Pap.[3] ?). After *θαττον* there is a space of about five letters which has been filled up by crosses (× × ×). The first hand appears, for some reason, to have left the passage blank, and it has been filled in later. Possibly however something has been washed out; but there are no signs of this. The first *ε* of *εκεινοις* in the next line has perhaps been added by Pap.[1]
[9] Pap. *επεδειξαντο*: *ν* dotted as a sign of deletion.

την αυτης[1] την γαρ πολιτειαν
ην εν επτα[2]κοσιοι[3]ς ετεσιν ου
θεις οιδεν[4] ουθ υπο κινδυνων
ουθ υπο συμφορων κεινηθεισαν
ταυτην εν ολιγω χρονω σαλευ
θηναι και λυθηναι παρα μικρον
εποιησε[5]ν αυτι γαρ των[6] καθεστωτο[7]ν 96
παρ αυτοις επιτηδευματων
τους μεν[8] ιδιωτας ενεπλησε[9]ν αδικι
ας ραθυμιας ανομιας φιλαργυ
ριας το δε κοινον της πολεως
υπεροψιας μεν των συμμαχων
επιθυμιας δε των αλλοτριων
ολιγωριας δε των ορκων και των
συνθηκων τοσουτον γαρ υπερεβα
λον τους ημετερους τοις εις τους
ελληνας αμαρτημασιν οσον προς
τοις προτερον υπαρχουσιν σφα
γας και στασεις εν ταις πολε
σιν εποιησαν εξ ων αειμνηστους
τας εχθρας προς αλληλους εχ[10]ου
σιν ουτω δε φιλοπολεμως και 97
φιλοκινδυνως διετεθησαν
τον αλλον χρονον προς τα τοιαυ
τα πεφυλαγμενως μαλλον

[1] Pap.[3] (?): Pap. *αυτων*.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. *πεντα*.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. *υ*.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. *θεις οιοιουθυν*.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. *α*.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. *των*.
[7] *Sic*.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. *μεν*.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. *α*.
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. *ξ*.

των αλλων εχοντες ωστ ου
δε των συμμαχων ουδε των
ευεργετων απεσχοντο των
σ[1]φετερων αυτων αλλα βασιλε
ως μεν αυτοις εις τον προς η
μας[2] πολεμον πλεον η πεντα
κισχειλια[3] ταλαντα παρασχον

Col. 32. το[4]ς χιων δε προθυμοτατα
παντων των συμμαχων τωι[5]
ναυτικωι[6] συνκινδυνευσαν
των θηβαιων δε μεγιστην 98
δυναμιν εις το πεζον συμβα
λομενων ουκ εφθασαν την
αρχην κατασχοντες και θη
βαιοις μεν ευθυς επεβουλευ
ον[7] επι δε τον βασιλεα κλε
αρχον και στρατι[8]αν εξεπεμ
ψαν και[9] χιων δε τους μεν πρω
τους των πολιτων εφυγαδ[10]ευ
σαν τας δε τριηρεις εκ των
νεωριων[11] εξελκ[12]υσαντες α[13]
πασας ωχοντο λαβοντες
ουκ εξηρκεσε δε αυτοις ταυ 99

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. εφ ετερων.
[2] Pap. προς | μας: Pap.[1] προς | ημας: Pap.[2] as above.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. χιλεια.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.
[5] Pap.[3]: Pap. τον.
[6] Pap.[3]: Pap. ν.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. σαν.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. ει.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. και.
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. τ.
[11] Pap.[2]: Pap. νεωτερων.
[12] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.
[13] Pap.[2]: Pap. om.

τα εξαμαρτειν[1] αλλα περι
τους αυτους χρονους επορθουν
μεν την[2] η[3]πειρον υβριζον δε
τας νησους ανηρουν δε τας εν
ιταλιαι και σικελιαι πολιτειας[4]
και τυραννους καθ[5]ισταsαν ελυ
μαινοντο δε την πελοποννη
σον και μεστην στασεων και
πολεμων εποιησαν επι π[6]οιαν
γαρ των πολεων ουκ εστρατευ
σαν η περι τίνας[7] αυτων ουκ ε
ξημαρτον ουκ ηλιων μεν με 100
ρος τι της χωρας αφε[8]ιλαντο την
δε γην την κορινθιων ετε
μον μαντινεας δε διωκισ[αν]
φλιασιους[9] δε εξεπ[10]ολιορκησαν
εις δε την αργειαν ενεβαλλον[11]
ουδεν δ επαυο[12]ντο τους μεν
αλλους κακως ποιουντες αυ
τοις δε την ητταν την εν[13] λευ
κτροις π[14]αρασκευαζοντες
την φασιν τινες αιτιαν γεγεγ[15]
νησθαι τηι σπαρτηι[16] των κα
κων ουκ αληθη λεγοντες ου

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. εξαμαρτανειν.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. υν.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. πολειτιας.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. θ.
[6] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. ν.
[7] Accent added by Pap.[2]
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ε.
[9] Pap.[3]: Pap. om. s.
[10] Pap.[3]: Pap. ν.
[11] Pap.[3]: Pap. εισεβαλον.
[12] Pap.[2]: Pap. σα.
[13] Pap.[2]: Pap. ευ.
[14] Pap.[1]: Pap. κ.
[15] This has perhaps been struck out.
[16] Pap.[3] (?): Pap. τη σπαρτη.

γαρ δια ταυτην υπο των συμ
μαχων εμισηθησαν αλλα
δια τας υβρεις τας εν τοις εν[1]
προσθεν χρονοις και ταυτην ητ
τηθησαν και περι της αυτων

Col. 33. εκινδ[. . . . .]αν χρη δε τας αιτιας 101
επιφερ[. . . . .] τοις κακοις τοις[2] επι τε
λευτη[ς γ]ενομενοις αλλα τοις πρω
τοις των αμαρτηματων εξ ων
επι την τελευτην ταυτην[3] κα[4]τηνεχθησαν
ωστε πολυ αν τις αληθεστερα τυγ
χανοι λεγων ει φαιηι τοτε την αρ
χην αυτοις γενεσθαι των συμφορων
οτε την αρχην της θαλατ̣τ̣ης πα
ρελαμβανον εκ̣τ̣ω̣ντο γαρ δυνα
μιν ουδεν ὁμοιαν τη προτερον ὐ
παρχουση δια με[ν γ]αρ την κατα 102
γην ηγεμονιαν και την ευταξιαν
και την καρτερε[5]ιαν την εν αυ
τη μελετωμενην ραιδιως της κατα[6]
θαλατταν δυναμεως επεκρατη
σαν δια δε την απορι̣αν[7] την υπο
της αρχης αυτοις εγγενο[8]μενην

[1] Perhaps overlined.

[2] Pap.[2] has inserted a stroke (ˈ) above the ς of τοις, perhaps to indicate a difference of reading.

[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. την τελευτη; om. ταυτην.

[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. και.

[5] The ε may possibly have been struck out, but the papyrus is too much rubbed at this place to discover.

[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. της κατα. In the opposite margin is a mark referring to a note (by Pap.[2]) at the foot of the column, which reads καρτερ̣ι̣αν την εμελετων ραιδι[ω].

[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. ακολασιαν.

[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. η.

ταχεως κακεινης της ηγεμονιας
α[1]πεστερηθησαν ου γαρ ετι[2] τους νο
μο[υ]ς εφυλαττον ους παρα των
προγονων παρελαβον ουδ εν τοις
ηθεσιν . .[3] εμενον οις προτερον
ειχον αλλ υπολαβοντες εξειναι ποι 103
ειν αυτοι[ς][4] ο τ[ι] αν βουληθωσιν εις πολλην
ταραχην κατεσ[τ]ησαν ου γαρ ηιδεισαν
την εξουσιαν ης παντες ευχονται
τυχειν ως δυσχρηστος[5] εστιν ου
δ ως π[αρ]αφρονειν ποιει τους αγα
πωντα[ς] αυτην ουδ οτι την φυσιν
. . . αν ε . . . . . εταιραις[6] ταις εραν
με[ν] α . . . . . αις τους δε χρω
με . . . . α . . . . . καιτοι . . . 104
ρω . . . . . κται ταυτην εχ . . .
την . . . . . ν τους γαρ εν πλεισταις[7]
γεγενη . . . . υς εξουσιαι[8]ς ι[9]δοι τις
αν ταις μεγισταις συμφοραις περι
πεπτωκο[τας] αρξαμενο[10]ς α . . . .[11]
και λα . . . . . ιμονιων αυται [γ]αρ αι [πο]
λεις κα[ι] πολι[τ]ευομεναι[12] προτερον

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. εν.
[3] There is a space of about two letters here so much rubbed as to be illegible. The reading is probably ενεμενον.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. αυτοις.
[5] Corrected from some other letter (ν?).
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. ετεραις.
[7] This line projects into the margin.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ι.
[9] Pap. ει: ε apparently struck out.
[10] υ may possibly have been added above the line.
[11] If α is followed by φ ημων the line must extend into the margin.
[12] Pap.[2]: Pap. πολι[τ]ευομενας.

σωφ . . . . . τα και δοξαν εχ[ου]
σαι καλλιστην . . . . . η ταυ[τ]ης [ετ]υ
χον κα[ι τ]ην αρχην ελαβον ου . .[1]
αλλη[λ]ων διηνεγκαν αλλ ωσπερ
προσηκει τους υ[2]πο των αυτων

Col. 34. επιθυμιω[ν κα]ι τ[η]ς αυτης[3] νοσ
σ[4]ου διεφθ[αρ]με[νο]υς και ταις
πραξεσιν τ[αι]ς αυ[τ]αις επεχειρη[5]
σαν και τοις [αμ]α[ρτ]ημασιν παρα
πλησιοις εχ[. . . . .]ο και το τε
λε[6]υταιον [ομο]ιαις ταις συμφο
ραις περιεπ[εσο]ν ημεις τε γαρ 105
μι[7]σηθεν[τες] υπο των συμμα
χων και πε[ρι αν]δραποδ[8]ισμου
κινδυνευσα[ντε]ς υπο λακεδαι
μονιων εσ[ωθ]ημεν εκεινοι
τε παντων [αυ]τους απολεσαι
βουληθεντ[ων] εφ ημας κατα
φυγοντες δ[ι η]μων της σωτη
ριας ετυχο[ν και]τοι πως χρη την
αρχην ταυ[την] επαινειν την
τας τελευ[τας] ουτω πονηρας
εχουσαν η π[ως] ου μισειν και φυ

[1] The remains of letters seem difficult to reconcile with the reading *ουδεν*.

[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.

[3] Pap.[1]: Pap. *αυτων*.

[4] Repeated by inadvertence; but the first σ is in fainter ink, and perhaps the scribe has attempted to wash it out. The second σ was certainly written at the same time as the rest of the line.

[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. ι.

[6] Pap.[1]: Pap. α.

[7] Pap. ει: ε struck out.

[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. τ.

γειν την πο[λλα] και δεινα ποιειν
αμφοτερα[ς τα]ς πολεις επαιρα[1]
σαν και πα[. . .] αναγκασασαν
ουκ αξιον δ[ε θα]υμαζειν ει[2] 106
τον αλλον [χρο]νον ελανθανε[3]
απαντα[4]ς το[σου]των ουσα[5] κακων
αιτια τοις εχουσιν αυτην ουδ ει
περιμαχητ[ο]ς ην εφ ημων και
λακεδαιμονιων ευρησετε γαρ
τους πλειστους των ανθρωπων
περι τας αιρεσεις τωὐ πραγμα
των αμαρτανοντας και πλει
ους μεν[6] επιθυμιας ε[χ]οντα[7]ς τὼν
[κ]ακων η των αγαθων αμει
[νο]ν δε βουλευομενους υπερ
των εχθρων η σφων αυτων
και ταυτ ιδ[ο]ι τις αν επι των με 107
γιστων τι γαρ[8] ουχ ουτως γεγονεν
ουχ ημεις μεν τοιαυτα προ
ηρουμεθα[9] πραττειν εξ ων
λακεδαιμο[ν]ιοι δεσποται[10]
των ελληνων κατεστησαν[11]

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. επερο.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. ειτε.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. ελανθανον.
[4] Pap.[1](?): Pap. ε.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. οσα.
[6] Pap. με: ν added above.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.
[8] ρ perhaps by Pap.[1]
[9] The reading of this word is extremely doubtful. The first letter may be η or αι altered from η. ου, if that is the right reading, is written above the line, perhaps in place of η.
[10] Pap. δεσποταις: ς struck out.
[11] In the margin is written κα[7], referring to the foot of the column, where εκεινοι δ ουτω κακως προεστησαν is added by a different hand (?), αν[ω] being written after it.

ωσθ ημ . . . . π[ο]λλ[ο]ις ετεσιν
υστερον . . . . ν επιπολασαι και
[1]κυριους γενεσθαι της εκεινων
σωτηριας ουχ η μεν των αττι 108
κιζοντων πολυπραγμοσυνη[2]
λακωνιζειν τας πολεις εποι

Col. 35. ησεν η δε τ . [. . .]ακ[3] . ζο[4]ν[. . . .]
υβρις αττικ[. . . . .] . . . αυτα[. . . . .]
ηναγκασ . . [. . . . .] . . . . ων [. . . . .]
μη[5]γορουν . . [. .] . . . . . αν [. . . . .]
ο δημος . . . . [. .] . . . . ν τη[6][. . . . .]
χιας της [επ]ι [των] τ[ετ]ρακο[σ]ιω[ν]
καταστασ . . . [. .] . . . . . ων τρ[ια]
κοντα μα . . . . . δημο[τι]
κωτεροι γεγον[α]μεν των[7] φυλην [κα]
ταλαβον[τ]ων αλλα [γαρ] επι των [ε] 109
λαττονων . . . . . ου καθ [η]
μεραν επι . . . . . τους π[ολ]
λους χαιρον . . . . . των ε[. .]

[1] In the margin, between this line and the preceding, is a mark referring to the foot of the column, where επι πολλας αρχας προελθειν και is added in the same hand as the other addition. Under επι πολλας is written something else, now illegible.

[2] Pap. πολυπραγμοσυνην: ν struck out.

[3] If this is the right reading, νι must have been omitted; but it may have been added above the line.

[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. ω.

[5] Something has been written above this and the following letters, but is illegible. The first two letters are perhaps ον, and the reading is very likely οι η[γουμενων], as an alternative to, or explanation of, δημηγορουν[των].

[6] α or ο seems to have been written above this letter. It may be the loop of the α of αυτος in the previous line; but if so it is a good deal below the level of the line.

[7] Above the line are slight traces of ink. The middle letter seems to be ο, and the next might be τ. The word is possibly τοτε.

. ατων . . . . . ηδευματω[ν]

τοις κα . . . . . [.] . . . . . ψυχην

βλαπτ[1]ουσιν . . . [.] . . . . . και χαλε

νομ[2]ιζοντ . . . . . [.] . . . . φοτερα ταυ

τ αν ωφε . . . . [.] . . . . . τερ[3]ου[ς] ει

ναι δοκου . . . . . ν τουτ[οι]ς

εμμενον . . . . . ουν εν [οι]ς 110

αιει ζωσι κ . . . . . αυτοις μαλλον[4] με

λει τα χειρω . . . . . ται προαιρου

μενοι τι θ . . . . . ον ει περι της

αρχης της[5] κατα θα[λα]τταν αγνοουσ[ι][6]

και μαχονται π[ρος] αλληλους περι

ης μηθεις . . . . . αυτους λογ[ι][7]

σμος εισηλθεν ορατε δε και τας 111

μοναρχιας τ[ας ε]ν ταις πολεσι κα[8]

θισταμενας οσ[ους ε]χουσι τους επι

θυμη[9]τα[10]ς κ[αι τους] ετοιμους εχον

τας οτιουν π[ασχ]ειν ωστε κατασ

χειν αυτας αις τι [τ]ων δεινων η χα

λεπων ου προ[σεσ]τιν ουκ ευθυς επι

δαν λαβωσι τας δυναστειας εν

τοσουτοις εμπεπλεγμενοι κα

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. τ.

[2] Above νομ is written something which may be the missing πα of χαλεπα.

[3] ἐκ, which the first hand wrote after ρ, seems to have been struck out.

[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. μαλλον.

[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. της.

[6] After αγνοουσι the word αστοχουσι is written by Pap.[2] in the margin.

[7] [ι]σ seems to have been written here and the σ to have been struck out by Pap.[2], who has then rewritten it at the beginning of line 27.

[8] ολιγαρ|χιας is written by Pap.[2] in the margin at this place, as an alternative reading to μοναρχιας.

[9] Pap.[1] (?): Pap. θυμουν.

[10] Pap.[1] (?): Pap. ε.

κοις εισιν ωστε αναγκαζεσθαι πο 112
λεμειν μεν α[πασ]ι τοις πολιταις
μισειν δ υφ ων κακον ουδεν πε
πονθασιν απι[1]στε[ι]ν δ[2]ε τοις φιλοις
και τοις εται[3]ροις τοις αυτων παρα
κατα[4]τιθεσθαι δε την[5] των σωματων
σωτηριαν μισθοφοροις ανθρωποις
οι[6]ς ουδεποτε ειδο[7]ν μηδεν
ηττον[8] φοβεισθαι τους φυλαττοντας
η τους επιβουλ[ε]υοντας ουτω[9]

Col. 36. [. . . . .]χειν
[. . . . .]αρρειν
[. . . . .]σι 113
[. . . . .]ευ[10]
[. . . . .]ν
[. . . . .]ν
[. . . . .]ν ετι[11]
[. . . . .]θρω
[. . . . .]ως
[. . . . .]θ[ος σ]υμ
[. . . . .]φας αυτου[ς υ]πο
[β]αλ[. . . . .] δε οιοι[12] πρωτε[υο]ντες

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ι.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. om.
[3] αι perhaps corrected from ε.
[4] Pap.[1]: Pap. κατιθεσθαι.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. την.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. υ.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. μηδεν δ η|ττον.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. ουτος.
[10] Pap. η. Pap.[2] has corrected to ευ and then rewritten η in the margin.
[11] ολον | δε is written by Pap.[2] in the margin here.
[12] Pap. δε πρω., om. οι. Pap.[2] seems to have written οιοι above. The second οι is a certain reading. Before οιοι is what might be part of π. Perhaps Pap.[2] has written [ο]που οι in mistake. In the margin he has written οπου δε οι. Between δε and οι a line is drawn (δε οι).

και δοξας μεγιστας εχοντ[ε]ς το[1]
σουτων κακων ερωσιν τι[2] δει τους αλλους[3] θαυ
μαζειν ει το[ι]ουτων[4] ε[τ]ερ[5]ων επιθυμουσι ουκ α 114
γνοωι δ οτι τον μεν περι τ[ω]ν
τυραννων λογον απεδεξασθε[6]
τον δε περι της αρχης δυσκο
λως ακουετε πεπονθατε γαρ τι
παντων αισχιστον και ραιθυμο
τατ[7]ον α γαρ επι των α[λ]λων ορα
τε ταυτ ε[8]φ υμων αυτων αγνοειτ[9]ε και
τοι των φρονιμως διακειμε
νων ουκ [ε]λαχιστον και[10] τουτο
σημειον εστιν ην τας αυτας πρα
ξεις επι παντων των ομοιων[11] φαινον
ται γνωριζοντες ων υμω[12]ν ουδεν[13] πω 115
ποτ ε[14]μελησεν αλλα τας μεν[15] τυραννι
δα[16]ς υπολαμβανετε χαλεπας
ειναι και βλαβερας ου μονον τοις
αλλοις αλλα και τοις εχουσιν αυτας
την δ αρχην την κατα θαλατταν
μεγιστο[17]ν των[18] αγαθων την[19] ουδεν ου

[1] αρχας is written in the margin here by Pap.^{2}, apparently as correction of δοξας.

[2] Pap.^{2}: Pap. om. τι.

[3] Pap.^{2}: Pap. om. τους αλλους.

[4] Pap.^{2}: Pap. om. ει τοιουτων.

[5] ερ is in somewhat darker ink, and may be a correction.

[6] Pap.^{2}: Pap. αποδεχεσθαι.

[7] ο and ι appear to have been written over α and τ respectively.

[8] Pap.^{2}: Pap. ορα|τ εφ.

[9] Pap.^{2}: Pap. ν.

[10] This reading is doubtful. There is room for four or perhaps five letters.

[11] Pap.^{2}: Pap. παντων ομοιως.

[12] Pap.^{2}: Pap. ι.

[13] Pap.^{2} (?): Pap. ουδε.

[14] Pap.^{2}: Pap. η.

[15] Pap.^{2}: Pap. om. μεν.

[16] Pap.^{2}: Pap. ε.

[17] Pap.^{2}: Pap. ω.

[18] Pap.^{2}: Pap. om. των.

[19] Pap.^{2}: Pap. αγαθων αιτια (*sic*) ουδεν.

τε τοις παθεσιν ουτε τα[1]ις πραξεσιν
των μοναρχιων διαφερουσαν
και τα μεν θηβαιων πραγματα
νομιζετε[2] πονηρως εχειν επε[3]ι τους
περιοικους αδικουσιν αυτοι[4] δ ουδεν
βελτειον τους συμμαχους διοικουν
τες[5] η εκεινοι την βοιωτι[6]αν ηγει
σθε[7] τα[8] δεοντα πραττειν ην ουν 116
εμοι πεισθητε παυσαμενοι του
πανταπασιν εικη βουλευεσθαι[9] προσ
εξετε[10] τον νουν υμι[11]ν αυτοις και τηι
πολει και φιλοσο[12]φησε[13]τε και σκε

Col. 37. ψε[14]σθε[15] τι το ποιησαν εστ[ι][16]
τω[17] πολ[ε]ε[18] τουτω[19] λεγω δε την[20]
ημετε[21]ραν και λακεδαιμονιων αρ
χην εκ [τ]απεινων μεν [π]ραγμα
των ε[κ]ατεραν ορμ[ηθ]εισαν
αρξαι [τ]ων ελληνων [ε]πει δε ανυ[22]

[1] ουτε τα seems to be a correction by Pap.[2]
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. νομιζεν.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ε.
[4] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. αυτου.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. διοικο|σιν.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. ει.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. ηγεισ|θε.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. παντα.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. βουλευεσθε.
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. ο.
[11] Pap. ει: ε struck out.
[12] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.
[13] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.
[14] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.
[15] Pap.[2]: Pap. αι.
[16] το ποιησαν εστ[ι] has been added by Pap.[2] The line is filled up by crosses (× × ×).
[17] Pap.[2]: Pap. τη.
[18] Pap.[2]: Pap. πολ[η?] or πολ[ε]ι.
[19] Pap.[2]: Pap. ταυτα.
[20] Before την something (τω?) has been struck out. Something appears to have been written in the margin, but is illegible.
[21] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. τε.
[22] Pap. perhaps επει αν. Pap.[2] has written ε above and perhaps changed α to δ and ν to ανυ.

υπερβ[1][λη]τον την δυναμ[ιν] ελαβ[ον]
περι αν[δ]ραποδισμου κι[. .] . . . . υ
σαι και [δι]α τινας αιτια[ς[2] . . θ]εττα 117
λοι μεν μεγιστους πλ[ουτο]υς πα
ραλαβο[ν]τες και χωρ[αν α]ριστην
και πλειστην εχοντε[ς εις] απο
ριαν καθεστηκασιν [με]γαρεις
δ εκ[3] μεικρων αυτοις και [φ]αυλων
των ε[ξ] αρχης υπαρξαν[τ]ων
και γην μεν ουκ εχον[τες] ουδε
λιμεν[α]ς ουδε αργυρ[εια π]ετρας
δε γεωργουντες μεγ[ιστ]ους οι
κους των ελληνων [. . .][4] κεκτην
ται κακεινων μεν[5] αλλοι [τι]νες τας 118
ακροπολε[6]ις αει[7] κατεχουσι οντων
αυτοις πλειονων[8] η τρισχιλ[ι]ων[9] ιπ
πεων και πελ[10]ταστων ανα[11]ριθμη
των ουτοι δε μικραν δυνα
μιν εχοντες την ε[12]αυτων ο
πως βουλο[13]νται διοικουσι και
προς τ[ο]υτοις οι μεν σφισιν αυ
τοις πολεμουσιν ουτοι δε με

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε (?) . . . .

[2] Pap. ατ$\overset{\circ}{\rho}$αια : ι inserted by Pap.[2] after first α; ρα struck out. The hiatus after α seems too large for ς θ merely. Perhaps we should read αιτια[ς οι θ]εττα|λοι.

[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. δε, om. κ.

[4] There is a space of about three letters between ελληνων and κεκ. After ν are remains of a letter which might be κ, and perhaps κε has been written twice by inadvertence.

[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. μεν.

[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ε.

[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. αει.

[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. πλεον.

[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. δισχιλ[ι]ων.

[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. κ.

[11] Pap.[2]: Pap. αριθ.

[12] Pap.[1] (?): Pap. om.

[13] Pap.[2]: Pap. ω.

ταξυ πελοποννησιων και
θηβαιων και της η[1]μετερας
πολεως οικουντες ειρηνην
αγοντες διατελουσιν ην γαρ 119
ταυτα και τα τοι[2]αυτα διεξειη
τε[3] προς υμας αυτους ευρη
σετε την μεν ακολασι[4]ν
και την υβριν των κακων
αιτιαν γιγνομενην[5] την δε
σωφροσυνην των αγαθων
ην υμεις επι μεν των ιδι
ων επαινειτε[6] και νομιζε
τε τους ταυτηι[7] χρωμενους
ασφαλεστατα[8] ζην[9] και βελτισ
τους ειναι των πολιτων
το δε[10] κοινον ημων ου
κ οισθε δειν τοιουτο παρα[11]

Col. 38. σκευαζειν[12] καιτοι πρ[ο]σηκει τας 120
αρετας [ασ]κειν και [τ]ας κακι
ας φευγ[ει]ν πολυ μ[αλ]λον ταις
πο[λ]εσιν η τοις ιδιωταις ανηρ

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. υ.

[2] Pap. και τοιαυτα: Pap.[2] corrected to και τα ταυτα by writing α τ above οι, and then, striking out α τ, wrote τα above the line between και and τοιαυτα.

[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. διεξει . . |ται. The ε of ει has perhaps been struck out.

[4] α omitted.

[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. γενομενην.

[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. αι.

[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. ταυτη.

[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. ασφαλεστατους.

[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ζην.

[10] ει[ν]αι has been written after δε, through a confusion with the ειναι in the previous line, which is just above it.

[11] κατα is written by Pap.[2] in the margin as an alternative reading to παρα.

[12] Pap.[2]: Pap. παρασ|κευαζειν.

μ[εν] γαρ ασ[ε]βης[1] και π[ο]νηρος τυ
χ[ον] αν φθασ[2]ειε τελε[υ]τησας
π[ριν] δουναι δικην των ημαρ
τ[ημ]ενων αι δε πολ[ι][3]ς δια την
α[θα]νασιαν υπομ[ε]νουσι και
τ[ας] παρα των αν[θ]ρωπων[4]
κ[αι τ]ας παρα των [θε]ων τιμω
ρ[ιας] ων ενθυ[μο]υμ[εν]ους χρη 121
μ[η] προσεχειν τον [νουν] τοις
εν [τ]ω παροντι με[ν χα]ριζο
μενοις του δε μελ[λον]το[5]ς χρο
νου μηδεμιαν ε[πι]μελιαν
ποιουμενοις μηδε [το]ις φιλειν
μεν τον δημον[6] [φ]ασκουσιν
ολην δε την πολιν λυ[7]μενο
μενοις ωσπερ[8] και π[ρο]τερον[9]
επε[10]ιδη παρελαβον ο[ι] τοιουτοι
την επι του βηματος δυνα
στειαν[11] εις τοσαυτην ανοιαν
προηγαγον την πολιν ωστε
παθειν αυτην οιαπερ ολιγοι

[1] ασεβης apparently written in by Pap.[2] Something may have been washed out, but there are no signs of this.

[2] Pap.[1]: Pap. om. σ.

[3] Not room in the hiatus for ει; but ε may have been inserted above.

[4] και . . . . ανθρωπων overlined as if intended to be struck out. A note by Pap.[2] in the margin apparently referring to this is too much mutilated to make out. The letters αρ . . .[. . | φευγ[ο. . remain. The letters read as αρ might perhaps be read as ου; and some such reading as ο̣ι̣[δαμως] | φευγο[υσαι] is conceivable. και in line 11 will probably also have been overlined.

[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.

[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. πολεμον.

[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. λοι.

[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. ως.

[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. το π[ρο]τερον.

[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ε.

[11] Pap.[2]: Pap. δυνασ|τιαν.

προτερον υμι[1]ν διηγησαμην
α[2] και παντων μαλιστ αν τις 122
θαυμασειεν οτι προχιριζεσθε[3]
δημαγωγους ο[4]υ τους την αυ
την γνωμην εχοντες τοις
μεγαλην την πολιν ποιησα
σιν αλλα τους ομοιως[5] και λε
γοντας και πραττοντας τοις
απολεσασιν αυτην και ταυτ ει[6]
ειδοτες ου μονον εν τω ποιησαι[7]
την πολιν[8] ευδαιμονα
τους[9] χρηστους των πο
νηρων διαφεροντας αλλα 123
και την δομοκρατιαν επει
μεν εκεινων εν πολλοις ετε
σιν ουτε κεινηθεισαν ουτε με
ταστασαν επι δε τουτων εν[10] ο
λιγωι χρονωι δις ηδη καταλυ
θεισαν και τας φυγας και τας
υπο των τυραννων και τας

Col. 39. [ε]πι των τριακοντα γενομ[εν]ας ου δι
α τους συκοφαντας κατελ[θο]υσας αλλα
δια τους μεισουντας τους[11] τοιουτ[ου]ς και με

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. ει.

[2] Pap. ο: Pap.[2] has corrected to α and then written ο above, as an alternative reading.

[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. προχιρισεσθαι.

[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.

[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. ομοια.

[6] The first hand has written καιτοι γε; but τοι γε is corrected in the margin to ταυτ ει by Pap.[2], who has apparently forgotten that ειδοτες begins the next line.

[7] αι added, or perhaps altered from ε, by Pap.[2]

[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. πολιτειαν.

[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. και τους.

[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. εν.

[11] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. τους.

γιστην[1] επ αρετηι[2] δοξαν εχον[τ]ας αλ[3] ομως[4] 124
τηλικουτων η[5]μι[6]ν υπομ[ν]ηματων
καταλελιμ[μ]ενων ως εφ [ε]κατερο[7]ν[8]
αυτων η πολις επραττεν ου[τ]ω χαιρο
μεν ταις[9] των ρητορων πονηρειαις[10] [11]ας
[12]
ουτοι πεποιη[κ]ασιν των μ[εν] αλλων
πολι[13]των πολλους[14] εκ των [π]ατρωων
[ε]κπεπτωκοτ[ας] τους[15] δ εκ πενητων
[π]λουσιους γεγε[ν]ημενους ουκ αγανακτου
μεν ουτ[16]ε φθονουμεν ταις [ε]υπραγι
αις αυτων α[λλ] υπομενομεν την μεν 125
πολιν διαβολας εχουσαν ως λυμαινε
ται και δασμολογει τους ελληνας του
τους δε τας επικαρπιας λαμβανον
τας και τον μεν δημον ον[17] φασιν ουτοι
δειν των αλλων αρχειν χειρον[18] πραττοντα
των ταις ολιγαρχια[19]ς δουλευοντων
οις δ ουδεν υπηρχεν αγαθον τουτους
δια[20] την ανοιαν[21] την ημετεραν

[1] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. om. *ν*.
[2] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. om. *ι*.
[3] *Sic.*
[4] Pap.[2] has written *ουτως* in the margin here, as an alternative reading to *ομως*.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. *υ*.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. *ει*.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. *ω*.
[8] Pap.[2] has written in the margin here *επ αμφο|τερον*, as an alternative reading to *εφ [ε]κατερον*.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. *της*.
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. *πονηρειας*.
[11] The following words, omitted here, are written by Pap.[2] at the top of the column :—[*ωσθ*] *ορωντες δια τον πολεμον και* [*τ*]*αραχας*, as a reference to which *αν*[ω] is written above *ας* in the text, *κα*[τ] being written after [*τ*]*αραχας*.
[12] This line is probably intended as a paragraph.
[13] Pap. *ει* : *ε* struck out.
[14] Pap.[2]: Pap. *πολλων*.
[15] Pap.[2]: Pap. *τουτους*.
[16] Pap.[2]: Pap. *δ*.
[17] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. *ον*.
[18] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. *χειρον*.
[19] *ι* omitted.
[20] Pap.[2]: Pap. *δε δια*.
[21] Pap.[2]: Pap. *διανοιαν*.

εκ ταπεινων ευδαιμονοστατους γε
[γ]ενημενους καιτοι περικλης ο προ 126
των τοιουτων δημαγωγος κατα
στας[1] και παραλαβων την πολιν χειρον
μεν φρονουσαν η πριν κατασχειν την
αρχην ετι δ ανεκτως πολ[ι]τευομε
νην ουκ επι τον ιδιον χρηματισμον
ωρμησεν αλλα τον μεν οικον τον[2]
αυτου ελαττω κατελιπεν η παρα του
πατρος παρε[3]λαβεν εις δε την ακρο
πολιν ανηνεγκεν οκτακισχειλια[4]
ταλαντα χωρις των ιερων ουτοι δε 127
τοσουτον εκεινου διενηνοχασιν ωσ
τε λεγειν μεν τολμωσι ως δια την
των κοινων επιμελιαν ου δυνανται
τοις ιδιοις προσεχειν τον νουν φαινε
ται δε τα μεν αμελουμενα τοσαυ
την ειληφοτα την επιδοσιν οσην ου
δ αν ευξασθαι τοις θεοις προτερον
ηξιωσαν το δε πληθος ημων ου[5] κη
δεσθαι φασιν ουτω διακειμενου
ωστε μηδενα των πολιτων ηδε
ως ζην μηδε ραθυμως αλλ οδυρμων
μεστην ειναι την πολιν οι μεν γαρ τας 128

Col. 40. πενιας και τας ενδειας αναγ

[1] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. *κατασ τας*.

[2] *τον* a correction by Pap.[2], perhaps from *κα*:.

[3] Pap.[1] (?): Pap. *α*.

[4] Pap. *οκτακισχειλιας*: *ς* struck out.

[5] There is a mark above *ου* which may be a smooth breathing or possibly a circumflex accent.

καζονται δ[ι]εξιεναι και θρη
νειν προ[1] σφα[ς] αυτους οι δε το
πληθος των προσταγματων
και των λητουργιων και τα κα
τα[2] περι τας σ[υ]μμορια[3]ς και τας
αντιδοσεις [α] τοσαυτας ενποι
ει λυ[4]πας ωσ[τ] αλγειον ζην τους
τας ουσιας κ[ε]κτημενους η
τους συνεχως πενουμενους
θαυ[5]μαζω δ ει μη δυνασθε 129
συνιδειν οτι γενος ουδεν εστιν
κακονουστ[ε]ρον τω πληθει
πονηρων ρητορων και δημα
γωγων προς[6] γαρ τοις αλλοις κα
κοις και των κατα την ημεραν
εκαστην[7] αναγκαιω[8]ν ουτοι
μαλλον βουλονται σπανιζειν
η[9]μας ορωσι γαρ τους μεν εκ
των ιδιων δυναμενους τα σ
φετερ αυτων διοικειν της
πολεως οντας και των[10] τα βελτισ
τα λεγοντων[11] τους δ[12] απο των 130
δικαστηριων ζωντας και

[1] *Sic.*

[2] *Sc.* τα κακα τα. The scribe has forgotten the second κα.

[3] Overlined by Pap.[2]

[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. λοι.

[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. γ (?).

[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. και.

[7] ημεραν εκαστην has been corrected by Pap.[2] to ημετεραν αγοραν, but κα[τ] at the end of the line refers to the foot of the column, where κατα την ημεραν εκαστην αναγ[κ] is restored by the same hand, αν[ω] being written after it.

[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.

[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. υ.

[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. των.

[11] Pap.[2]: Pap. λεγοντας.

[12] Pap.[2]: Pap. om.

των εκκλησιων και των
εντευθεν λημματων υ
φ αυτου[1]ς δια την ενδιαν η
να[2]γκασμενους ειναι και πολ
λην χαριν εχοντας ταις εισαν
γελιαις και ταις γραφαις και ταις
αλλαις συκοφαντια[3]ις ταις δι αυ
των γι[4]νομεναις εν[5] ουν ταις 131
απορiαις αις[6] δυναστευου
σι[7] μεν ταυταις ηδιστ αν ειδοι
εν απαντας τους πολιτας τε
κμηριον δε μεγιστον ου γαρ του
το σκοπουσι εξ οτου τροπου τοις
δεομενοις βιον εκποριουσι[8] αλ[9] ο
πως τους δοκουντας[10] εχειν
τοις αποροις[11] εξισωσουσιν τις 132
ουν απαλλαγη γενοιτ αν των κα
κων των παροντων διειλε
γμαι μεν γαρ[12] τα[13] πλειστα περι αυ
των τουτων ουκ εφεξης αλ[9] ως

Col. 41. εκ[α]στον τωι καιρωι[14] συνεπει
πτε μαλλον δ αν υμι[15]ν ενγε
ν[οι]το μνημονευειν ει[16] συν

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. ι.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.
[3] Pap.[1]: Pap. ο.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. ει.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. ειν.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. εν αις.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. σιν.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. πορουσι.
[9] *Sic.*
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. ευδοκουντας.
[11] Pap.: Pap.[2] has written in the margin απορου|μενοις as an alternative reading.
[12] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. γαρ.
[13] τα perhaps struck out.
[14] Pap.[1]: Pap. καιρω.
[15] Pap.[1]: Pap. ει.
[16] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. εις.

αγ[αγω]ν τα μαλιστα κατεπει
γον[τα π]αλιν επανελθειν επ αυ
τα [πε]ιραθειην εστιν δ εξ ων αν 133
επ[α]νορθωσαιμεν τα της πο
λε[ω]ς και βελτιω ποιησαιμεν
πρ[ωτο]ν μεν ην[1] συμβουλους
ποι[2]ωμεθα τοιουτους πε
ρι τ[ων] κοινων οιους περ αν
περ[ι τ]ων ιδιων ημι[3]ν ειναι
βουληθειημεν και παυσω[4]
με[θα] δημοτικους μεν νο
μιζοντες ειναι τους συκο
φαν[τ]ας ολιγαρχικους[5] δε
του[ς] καλους και αγαθους[6]
τω[ν] ανδρων γνοντες[7]
οτι φ[υ]σει[8] μεν ουδεν ετερον[9]
τουτων εστιν εν ηι δ αν
εκαστοι[10] τιμωνται ταυ
την βουλο[11]νται καθεστα
ναι την πολιτειαν δευτερον 134
δ ην εθελησωμεν χρησθαι
τοις συμμαχοις ομοιως ωσ
περ τοις φιλοις και μη λογωι
μεν αυτονομους[12] αφειωμεν εργω δε τοις

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. η.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. πα[υσ?].
[3] Pap. ει: ε struck out.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. αι.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. πολιγαρχικους.
[6] Something (apparently τὸ) has been struck out by Pap.[2] after αγαθους.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. γειγνοντες.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. φυσιν.
[9] Pap. ουθεις (εν corr. Pap.[2]) ουθετε[ρον. Pap.[2] has corrected in the margin as above.
[10] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. εκαστον.
[11] Pap. ω: corrected as above.
[12] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. αυτονομους.

στρατηγοις αυτους ο τι αν βου
λωνται ποιειν εκδιδωμεν
μηδε[1] δεσποτικως αλλα συνμαχι
κως αυτων επιστατωμεν
εκε[ι]νο καταμαθοντες οτι
μιας μεν εκαστης των πο
λεων κρειττους εσ[2]μεν απα
σων δ ηττους τριτον εαν 135
μηδεν περι πλε[3]ιονος ποιη
σθε[4] [5]ευσεβειαν του[6] παρα
τοις ελλησιν ευδοκιμειν
τοις γαρ ουτω διακιμενοις
εκοντες[7] και τας δυναστιας
και τας ηγεμονιας[8] διδοασιν
ην μεν[9] ουν ενμεινητε τοις ειρη 136
μενοις και προς τουτοις[10] υμας

Col. 42. αυτους παρασχη[. .][11] . ε πολε
μικους μεν οντας [τ]αις μελε
ταις και ταις παρα[σκ]ευαις ειρη
νικους δε των[12] μη[δε]ν παρα

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. μη.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. εσ.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ε.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. ποιησησθε.
[5] The following words, omitted here, are added by Pap.[2] at the foot of the column, κα[7] being written here, and αν[ω] after the inserted words :— μετα γε την εις τους θεους. Before ευσεβειαν, του δ[ι] has been written by Pap. and struck out by Pap.[2]
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. του.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. εκαστω.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. τας (*sic*) δυναστιαις και ταις ηγεμονιαις.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. μεν. Line above ην added by Pap.[2]
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. τουτο.
[11] There is a space of about two letters lost here, and a letter before ε which seems like θ struck out. The reading has perhaps been παρασχησθε, the σθ being altered to τ.
[12] *Sic*: the τ is perhaps a correction by Pap.[1] from some other letter.

το δι[1]καιον πρατ[ει]ν ου μο
νον ευδαιμονα [πο]ι[2]ησεται
ταυτην την πολιν αλλα και
τους αλλους ελλη[ν]ας απαν
τας ουδε γαρ αλλη[3] των 137
πολεων τολμησει ουδεμι
α περι αυτους εξαμαρτα
νειν α[λ]λ οκνησουσιν και πολ
λην ησυχιαν εξουσιν οταν
ιδωσιν εφεδρευουσαν την
δυναμιν την ημετεραν και
παρεσκευασμενην τοις αδι
κουμενοις βοηθε[ι]ν ου μην
[4]λλ οποτερον αν ποι[5]ησωσιν
το γ ημετερον καλως εξει[6]
και συμφεροντως ην τε γαρ 138
δοξηι των πολεων ταις προ
εχουσαις[7] απεχεσθαι των αδι
κηματων ημεις τουτων
των αγαθων την αιτιαν εξο[8]
μεν ην τε[9] επιχιρωσιν αδι
κειν εφ ημας απαντες οι[10] δεδι
οτες και κακως πασχοντες
καταφευξο[11]νται κα[ι] πολλας ικε

[1] Pap. δια: α has perhaps been struck out, but this is uncertain.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ι.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. ουδε γαρ ουδ αλλη.
[4] *Sic.*
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. πα.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. εξειν.
[7] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. προσ|εχουσαις. Pap.[2] has written in the margin προη|κουσαις as an alternative reading.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. ω.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. τινες.
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. οι.
[11] Corrected from ω.

τειας και δεησεις π[οι]ουμενο[1]ι
και διδοντες ου μο[νο]ν την ηγε
μονιαν αλλα και σφ[ας] αυτους
ωστε[2] ουκ απορησομεν[3] μεθ ων 139
κωλυσο[4]μεν τους εξαμαρτα
νοντας αλλα πολλ[ου]ς εξο[5]μεν
τους ετοιμως[6] και προθυμως
συναγωνιζομενους ημειν
ποια γαρ πολις η[7] τις[8] ανθρωπων
ουκ επιθυμησει μετασχειν
της φιλιας και της συμμαχι
ας της ημετερας οταν ορω
σι τους αυτους αμφοτερα και
δικαιοτατους οντας και με
γιστην δυναμιν κεκτημε
νους και τους μεν αλλους σ[9]ω
ζε[10]ιν και[11] βουλομενους[12] αυτους δε

Col. 43. μη[δεμια]ς βοη[θει]α[ς] δεομενους
ποσ[ην δε] χρη . [. .] . [.][13] προσδο 140
καν [επιδ]οσιν τ[α τη]ς πολεως
ληψ[εσθαι τ]οια[υτης] ημειν ευ
νοι[. . . . .]λην[14] υπαρ

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. α.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. ως.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. απορησαιμεν.
[4] Corrected from ω.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. ω.
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. εξετοιμως.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. om.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. εις.
[9] Pap.[1]: Pap. ζ.
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ε.
[11] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. και.
[12] κα[τ], written here, refers to the foot of the column, where και δυναμεν[ο]υς, omitted in the text, is added by Pap.[2]
[13] Received text χρὴ προσδοκᾶν; but there is a lacuna here of about five letters.
[14] Pap.[2]: Pap. λων.

χουσης[1] [. . . . .]τον ει[ς]
την πο[. . . . .][2] εισρυη
σεσθαι[3] α[πασης τη][4]ς ελλαδ[ος]
σωζ[. . . . .]ς δε ο[υ]
κ επε[νεσεσθ]αι[5] τ[ους] τοσουτω[ν]
και τη[λικουτ]ων [αγα]θων αιτι
ους γεγ[ενη]με[ν]ο[υς αλ]λα γαρ ου 141
δυνα[μαι] δια τ[ην η]λικιαν
απαν[τα τ]ωι λ[ογωι π]εριλαβειν
α τυγχαν[. . .]ι[. . . . .]ι καθορων
πλην οτ[. . . . .]ν εν ταις
των αλλ[. . . . .] και μανι
αις πρω[. . . . .][6] ευ φρον[7]ησαν
τας προσ[τ]ηναι της των αλλ[ω][8] ελλη
νων ελε[υ]θεριας κα[ι] σωτηριας[9]
αλλα μη [λ]υμεωνας αυτων
κληθηνα[ι] και περιβλεπτους επ α
ρετηι[10] γενομενους την δοξαν
την των προγονων αναλαβειν

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. ξασης.

[2] Received text πόλιν; but there is a lacuna of ten or eleven letters.

[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. εισρυησεσθε.

[4] Received text δι' ἡμῶν ἁπάσης τῆς; but there does not seem room for this, and before the lacuna is what seems like the loop of α.

[5] At the head of the column is written (by Pap.[2]) τινας δ [ου]κ επαινεσεσθαι with a reference κα[7], so that there appears to have been some confusion in the text. The s after the lacuna in the previous line seems to have been struck out.

[6] Received text πρώτους εὖ; but there is a lacuna of about ten letters. Perhaps we should read πρω[τους ημας] ευ.

[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. ευ . εθ.

[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. αλλων.

[9] κ[α[7]] in the margin here refers to the foot of the column, where the following alternative reading is added by Pap.[2]:—σανταs περι της των αλλ[ω] ελλην[ω] ελευ[θ] και σωτηριας γ[ε]νηθηναι, αν[ω] being written after it.

[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ι.

κεφαλαιο[ν] δε τουτω[1]ν εκει 142
νο εχω λεγειν εις ο παντα
τα προειρημενα συντεινει
και προς ο χρη βλεποντας τας[2] πρα
ξεις τας[3] τ[η]ς πολεως συν[4]δοκιμα
ζειν δει [γ]αρ ημας [ει]περ βουλο
μεθα δι[α][5]λυσασ[θαι] μεν τας
διαβολα[ς α]ς εχ[ομεν] εν τωι
παροντι [. . . . .] δ[ε] των
πολεμω[ν των] ματην γινο
μενων κ[τη]σασθα[ι] δε τηι
πολε[6]ι την η[γε]μονιαν εις τον
απαντα χρ[ον]ον μεισησαι[7] μεν
απασας τα[ς] τυραννικας αρ
χας και δυναστειας[8] ανα
λογισαμενους[9] τας συμφορας
ταις εξ αυτων γεγενημενας[10]
ζηλωσαι δε και μιμησα[11]σθαι
τας εν λακεδαιμονι βασιλε[12]ιας
εκεινοις γαρ αδικειν μεν ητ 143
τον εξεστιν η τοις ιδιωταις

Col. 44. τοσουτω δε μακαριστ[ο]τατοι
τυγχανουσιν οντες των β[13]ιαι

[1] Pap. ο: Pap.[1] ω: Pap.[2] struck out the letter and rewrote it above the line.
[2] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. τας.
[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ς.
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. συν.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. απ[ο].
[6] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ε.
[7] Pap. apparently μσησε: Pap.[1] μισησε: Pap.[2] as above.
[8] Pap.[2]: Pap. ταϛ δυναστειας.
[9] Pap.[2]: Pap. λογιζομενους.
[10] Pap.[2]: Pap. ταις συμφοραις ταις —γεγενημεναις. The ι of the second ταις has not been struck out.
[11] Pap.[2]: Pap. ε.
[12] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ε.
[13] Pap.[2]: Pap. ιδ.

τας τυραννιδας και τας πολε[1]ις
[κ]ατεχοντων[2] οσω οι μεν τους τοι
ουτους αποκτειναντες τας
μεγιστας δωρεας παρα των
συνπολιτευομενων λαμβα
νουσιν υπερ εκεινων δε οι μη[3] τολ
μωντες εν ταις μαχαις απο
θνησκειν ατιμοτεροι γι[4]νον
ται των τας ταξεις λιπον
των και τας ασπιδας αποβα
λοντων αξιον ουν ορεγεσθαι 144
της τοιαυτης ηγεμονιας ενε
στιν[5] δε και τοις πρ[α]γμασιν
ημων[6] τυχειν π[α]ρα των
ελληνων της τι[μ]ης ταυτης
ηνπερ εκεινοι παρα των πολι
των εχουσιν ην υπ[ο]λαβωσιν
την δυναμιν την η[7]μετεραν
μη δουλιας αλλα σωτηριας
αυτοις αιτιαν εσεσθαι πολλων 145
δε και καλων ενοντων λο
γων περι την υποθεσιν ταυτην

[1] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. ε.

[2] Pap. εχοντων: κατεχο[ντ]ων is written in the margin after line 3 by Pap.[2], as a correction, and the same hand has written [κ]ατ before line 4. A line drawn by the same hand under και and over μεν in line 4 may be intended to call attention to the difference of reading or to delete μεν.

[3] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. οι μη.

[4] Pap. ει: ε struck out.

[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. ενεσ|τιν.

[6] Pap.[1](?): Pap. ημειν.

[7] Such is probably the reading. υ has been written by the first hand and corrected, but owing to a hole in the papyrus it is impossible to say with certainty what the letter above it is.

εμοι μεν αμφοτερα συμβου
λευει[1] παυσασθαι λεγοντι
και το μηκος του λογου και το
πληθος των ετων των εμων
τοις δε ν[2]εωτεροις και μαλ
λον ακμαζουσιν η[3] εγω πα
ραινω και παρακελευο[4]μαι
τοιαυτα και λεγειν και πρατ
τειν και γραφε[5]ιν εξ ων τας με
γιστας των πολεων και τας ει
θισμενας ταις αλλαις κακα
παρεχειν προτρεψουσιν επ α
ρετην και δικαιοσυνην ως
εν ταις της ελλαδος ευπρα
γιαις συμβαινει και τα των
φιλοσοφων πραγματα πο[6]
λυ βελτειω γι[7]νεσθαι

Ισοκρατους περι της
ειρηνης

In the middle of the blank space after this column are the words:—

[ι]σοκρατους
περι ειρηνης

[1] Pap.[2] (?): Pap. *συμβουλευειν*.
[2] Perhaps a correction by Pap.[2]
[3] A correction by Pap.[2]
[4] Pap.[2]: Pap. *ω*.
[5] Pap.[2]: Pap. om. *ε*.
[6] *πολιτευο|μενων* is written by Pap.[2] in the margin here, as an alternative reading to *φιλοσοφων*.
[7] Pap.[2]: Pap. *γει*.

H. I. BELL.

SOME EMENDATIONS OF PROPERTIUS.

1. 2. 25.

non ego nunc *uereor* ne sim tibi uilior istis?

Perhaps *mereor*: 'Do I not deserve to stand higher in your regard than they?' The words *non ego nunc...uereor* occur also at 1. 6. 1 and 1. 19. 1; and this fact, together with the rarity of the construction *mereor ne*, perhaps produced the corruption.

1. 4. 13–14.

ingenuus color et multis decus artibus et quae
gaudia sub tacita dicere ueste lubet.

For *sub tacita* I would write *subtracta*, cf. 2. 1. 13

seu nuda erepto mecum luctatur amictu...

1. 5. 6.

et bibere e tota toxica Thessalia.

'To drink poisons out of all Thessaly' is a strange inversion for 'to drink Thessaly out of all its poisons,' which is the sense required, and which would be clearly and adequately expressed by

et bibere epota toxica Thessalia

—which is what I believe Propertius wrote.

1. 12. 15–16.

felix qui potuit praesenti flere puellae,
nonnihil aspersis gaudet Amor lacrimis.

Perhaps *nonnihil abstersis* etc., i.e. quas praesens puella absterget.

Cf. Tibullus i. 9. 37–38.

quin etiam flebas: at non ego fallere doctus
tergebam umentes credulus usque genas.

2. 2. 3–4.

cur haec in terris facies humana moratur?
Iuppiter ignoro pristina furta tua.

ignoro means nothing: and the *ignosco* of *n* is merely a clumsy guess which gives a sense but not the sense required. 'Why is this beautiful form (= Cynthia) allowed to remain on earth? Jupiter I condone your old amours.' Could anything be more inconsequent? For *ignoro* I would suggest *ignari* (i.e. ignari erant). We thus get the required connection 'Why is Cynthia allowed to remain on earth and not taken to heaven? Your old amours, Jupiter, were committed in ignorance: i.e. you did not know Cynthia.'

2. 3. 15.

nec si qua Arabio lucet bombyce puella.

Perhaps *nec si quando Arabo* etc. The error arose from the similarity of qua and qn (the contraction for quando) followed by the initial *a* of Arabo.

2. 5. 4.

et nobis Aquilo Cynthia uentus erit.

uentus may very well be a corruption of *uersus* due to *Aquilo*. The whole point of the poem is that Propertius is going to hold Cynthia up to execration in verse: cf. l. 27 '*scribam igitur*...' and l. 30 'hic tibi pallori Cynthia *uersus erit*.'

3. 2. 3–4.

Orphea detinuisse feras et concita dicunt
flumina Threicia sustinuisse lyra.

Perhaps (retaining *detinuisse* in l. 3) *Threiciae succinuisse lyrae*.

3. 4. 5–6.

sera sed Ausoniis ueniet prouincia uirgis
assuescent Latio Partha tropaea Ioui.

For *sera sed* Heinsius proposed *Seres et* (with *uenient*), which is inappropriate since Propertius is still speaking of the Parthians. I would suggest *Arsacidae Ausoniis* (the corruption perhaps came through *Saracidausoniis*). *Sera sed* is no doubt tolerable: but it is harsh, and we want some such antithesis as is supplied by *Arsacidae Ausoniis* to correspond with the antithesis *Latio Partha* in l. 6.

3. 10. 22.

et crocino nares murreus ungat onyx.

'unguenti odore afficiat,' says Paley of *ungat*. But can the word possibly convey this sense? Is it not simpler to suppose that Propertius wrote

et crocino nares murrea pungat onyx?

3. 13. 25.

felix agrestum quondam pacata iuuentus.

'*pacata* suspectum,' says Postgate, and truly. Perhaps *pagana*: 'Happy the youth of the country districts when once they lived in villages,' before the country was, as we should say, *Londonised*.

3. 13. 35–36.

atque hinuli pellis totos operibat amantes
altaque natiuo creuerat herba toro.

Most edd. accept in l. 35 Scaliger's *hinnulei* for *atque hinuli* but (1) this leaves *atque* unaccounted for and (2) it leaves *totos* without point. Both these difficulties disappear if we write *satque hinni*. In l. 36 I would write *aptaque* for *altaque*.

3. 13. 39.

corniger atque dei uacuam pastoris in aulam
dux aries saturas ipse reduxit oues.

dei = Apollinis, say the commentators. But in the name of common sense what is Apollo doing *dans cette galère*? Pro-

pertius is speaking of the happiness of shepherds in the golden age, and unless what he says is to be meaningless he must be speaking of *human* shepherds: and since they are shepherds of the golden age they will probably be Arcadian shepherds, and we shall have to write

corniger Arcadii etc.

3. 20. 13.

nox mihi prima uenit: primae date tempora noctis

data codd. dett. But surely a simpler correction is, assuming a dittography, to write *da*.

4. 1. 33.

quippe suburbanae parua minus urbe Bouillae.

The position of *minus* makes it almost impossible to take it with *suburbanae*. This difficulty will cease to exist if for *parua* we write *paruo* and translate 'Suburban Bovillae was a thing little smaller than Rome itself'...exactly the sense demanded and suiting admirably with the line that follows—

et, qui nunc nulli, maxima turba Gabi.

4. 1. 46–47.

uexit et ipsa sui Caesaris arma Venus,
arma resurgentis portans uictricia Troiae.

For *arma* in l. 47 I would suggest *sacra* (cf. Virg. Aen. ii. 293

sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penates),

and the correction gains support from the line following

felix terra tuos cepit Iule deos.

Thus 45–46 give the martial, 47–48 the religious aspect of the foundation of Rome.

4. 1. 49.

tremulae cortina sibyllae.

Perhaps *uetulae*.

4. 1. 53–54.

Ilia tellus
uiuet et huic cineri Iuppiter arma dabit.

dare arma cineri is a very odd piece of Latin. I suspect huic *generi* Jupiter *arua* dabit, recalling Virg. Aen. iii. 184 sqq.

'haec generi portendere debita nostro
et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Itala signa uocare.'

Much of this first poem of the fourth book recalls well-known passages of Virgil.

4. 3. 9–10.

hibernique Getae pictoque *Britannia* curru
ustus et Eoa discolor Indus aqua.

Perhaps

hibernique Getae pictoque *Brigantia* curru
pastus et Eoa decolor Indus aqua.

Brigantia = Rhaetia. For *pastus* cf. Virg. Aen. vii. 685–686 where the river Amasenus is said to feed (*pascere*) the dwellers by it.

4. 3. 51.

nam mihi quo Poenis te purpura fulgeat ostris.

So N. But (1) te is clearly corrupt, though it is likely to be nearer the true reading than the *tibi* of other MSS. (2) ostris is a very suspicious plural of which lexicons furnish no other examples. I would write

nam mihi quo Poeni face purpura fulgeat ostri?

'To what end should I wear purple robes glittering with the brilliance of Tyrian dyes?' I imagine *Poeni face* to have passed into *Poenis te* owing (1) to the confusion of *f* and *s*, (2) to the confusion of *a* and Lombardic $t^1 = \bar{a}$, (3) the accidental loss of *c* before *e*. The scribe had before him *Poenifaæ* which he read as *Poenifae*.

4. 4. 19–20.

uidit harenosis Tatium proludere campis
pictaque per flauas arma leuare iubas.

[1] That N was derived from a Lombardic original is a suggestion of Prof. Phillimore's (Praef. i.): and I have noticed a number of errors in it, besides the example which he cites, which all point in the same direction.

Heinsius *aera*, Palmer's *frena* in l. 20 testify to the difficulty editors have felt about this line. (1) picta...flauas give a false antithesis. (2) of the two translations possible: (*a*) 'raise his painted shield through the yellow hair of his comrades' and (*b*) 'raise his painted shield through the yellow mane of his horse,' either gives a quite absurd picture. I would suggest that for *per flauas...tubas* we should read *perflatis...tubis*. Tatius was practising military exercises (*proludere* 19).

4. 4. 82.

pacta ligat, pactis ipsa futura comes.

It is impossible to get any sense out of *comes*. I would propose to replace it by *uades*. *Comes* may have arisen out of some absurd confusion between *uades* and *uadens* (from *uadere*).

H. W. GARROD.

ELISION IN HENDECASYLLABLES.

I DESIRE in this note to call attention to certain rules of Hendecasyllabic verse which have apparently hitherto been neither formulated nor recognised. The composition of hendecasyllabic verse is a favourite exercise with modern scholars, but unless I am greatly mistaken there is scarcely a single one of their essays in this metre which does not constantly and flagrantly offend against certain metrical canons to which Martial and his contemporaries paid an invariable respect. For example, in a book in some ways admirable, Messrs Thackeray and Stone's *Florilegium Latinum* (vol. ii.), there are several copies of hendecasyllables; but not one, I will venture to say, which does not violate at least once a law which Martial and Statius never violate, not one which does not *repeatedly* employ a licence to which all the hendecasyllables of Martial and Statius can barely furnish half a dozen parallels. Nor have I ever seen a copy of modern hendecasyllables which does not contain *several* examples of a liberty of which the combined works of Martial and Statius furnish in all perhaps not more than forty examples. If a hexameter writer should introduce an example of hiatus into every fifth line of his verses those verses would wait long before they found a place in any Florilegium Latinum! Yet at every fifth line of a modern copy of hendecasyllables one may light upon a licence which is about as rare, proportionally, in the works of Martial and Statius as is hiatus in Virgil; and at every tenth line upon

a licence to which neither Martial nor Statius furnishes any parallel at all[1].

That these facts should have escaped the observation of scholars is a matter for surprise. It has always, of course, been recognised that, in comparison with Martial and Statius, Catullus, in his hendecasyllables, is as Pliny calls him (H. N. i. 1) 'duriusculus,' and this 'slight roughness' is particularly apparent in the use which he makes of elision. 'Musas colimus seueriores,' says Martial (9. 12. 17): and nowhere does the severity, or strictness, of Martial's Muse more shew itself than in his employment of elision. A careful analysis of his hendecasyllabic poems reveals the presence of certain very definite rules with regard to elision to which both he and Statius strictly adhere. It is to these that I desire to call attention.

Catullus admits elision of all kinds in all places. There are few of his lines which do not furnish at least one example of it, and many furnish more. Particularly noticeable is the constant elision of monosyllables. Elision is admitted in any part of the verse, and is as common in the more serious as in the grosser poems. Long, mediate and short vowels are elided indifferently: nor does the character of the words which 'collide' (i.e. the fact of their being trivial, or in common use in conversation as e.g. bene, atque, etc.) seem to make much difference. In Catullus it may be said that elision is for most lines the rule. In Martial it is not the rule but the exception. The far greater number of Martial's hendecasyllabic poems are altogether free from instances of elision. I believe that in all there will not be found much above forty examples of it. And even in these we may detect the observance of certain laws which I will try briefly to formulate:—

1. The elision of a long syllable is altogether avoided.

2. A mediate syllable is *almost never* elided. Clear

[1] For example: on page 245 of Florilegium Latinum (vol. ii) there is an ingenious, and as far as Latinity goes admirable, copy of hendecasyllables by a well known composer. Yet ll. 9 and 12 both violate a rule rigidly and always observed by Martial and Statius: ll. 2 and 3 employ a licence of which there are perhaps not more than three examples in Martial, and only two (possibly one) in Statius.

examples of such elision are 2. 55. 1, uolebam amare and 12. 36. 3, interdum aureolos—neither of them from serious or highly finished poems. In 2. 68. 2 we have regem et dominum, and in 5. 44. 9 we have cognitum et relictum, but the extreme rarity of this species of elision suggests that we should in both cases omit et. So too in 10. 104. 12 I would read nostrum moneas for nostrum admoneas. It seems to me not credible that while Martial elsewhere almost entirely eschews eliding -um he should here have gone out of his way to write admoneas where moneas would have served his turn. The somewhat sharper syllable -am he certainly elides *only* in 2. 55. 1. [In 1. 54. 6 tantum inspice: 7. 94. 14 centum occurrere, see below.]

In 9. 88. 4 we have liberum esse. I doubt if this can be regarded as a genuine instance of elision. I imagine that esse is here treated as est is elsewhere: the e disappears in pronunciation. I need hardly say that Martial never avoids placing a vowel (e.g. Issa est, fatendum est) before est and es. In 10. 9. 5, 12. 8. 10 sum, possum are lost in the following vowels: and here no doubt Martial is taking a liberty with the verb 'to be' which he would not take in the case of any other word.

3. Even short vowels are elided very sparingly, and on fairly clear principles: which are these:—

Either (1) the word elided must be an enclitic: as e.g. -que is eleven times elided [I include here (us)que (once), (at)que (once)], -ne once, -ve once,

or (2) the word which causes the elision (i.e. follows the elided syllable) must be a word in constant conversational use: as, e.g., he four times[1] allows elision before et: once before aut (11. 18. 16): thrice before ut (1. 99. 3: 4. 43. 9: 12. 53. 6): once before in (1. 10. 4): once before ait (6. 82. 4): once before inquit (6. 82. 9): once before hic (2. 70. 5), twice before atque (5. 20. 12: 7. 94. 6): once before adhuc (4. 91. 3),

or else (3) the word of which the last syllable suffers elision must itself be a word of such a character as constantly

[1] I exclude here the elision of que before et which comes under the 11 cases given in (1).

to recur in the language of everyday life, e.g. bene, three times (3. 12. 3 : 6. 55. 5 : 10. 35. 10) : tibi, once (2. 48. 8) : sibi, once (5. 24. 8) : ita, once (7. 76. 3) : nisi, twice (2. 70. 2 : 6. 90. 1). Perhaps under the same head should come 9. 63. 2, et nocte utitur et die.

These examples of the elision of a short syllable amount to just above thirty in all. We are only human and our eyes are apt to deceive us. But to the best of my knowledge the lists I have given, except for five examples which I shall notice below, exhaust all the instances of elision in hendecasyllables which are to be found in Martial. The five remaining cases (which do not lend themselves to classification) are—

2. 44. 10. grande ingenium.

3. 35. 2. adde aquam (*an* aspice des aquam ?).

6. 72. 3. Fabulle in horto. I might class this with (3) 2 : but I prefer to see in it an intentional echo of Catullus, xiii. 2, Fabulle apud me.

6. 78. 1. lumine uno (*an* lumen unum ?).

In 2. 6. 6 we have rapta exscribere. Here we have a verb compounded with *ex-* and the elision may come under 3 (2) : and this may be the explanation also of 1. 54. 6 : 7. 95. 14 : 10. 104. 12 (above).

The elisions of Statius are easily dealt with :—

1. Like Martial he never elides a long vowel.

2. He twice only (perhaps only once) elides a mediate syllable (2. 7. 83 : 4. 3. 139 : in the latter passage I would prefer dux hominum, parens deorum—omitting et).

3. He very occasionally elides a short syllable :

1. He thrice elides -que (2. 7. 36 : 2. 7. 83 : 4. 9. 23).

2. He once elides before et (4. 3. 79 : [I have already noticed 4. 3. 139]) : once before ego (4. 3. 76).

3. He elides, once in each case, the last syllable of ecce (1. 6. 28), ante (2. 7. 74), ergo (4. 3. 107).

It is worth noticing that all these last three instances of elision occur at the end of the first foot of the verse : and I may add that Statius never allows elision in the fourth and fifth feet. Martial thrice elides in the fourth foot (twice a

mediate syllable): nor can I find that he particularly affects or avoids elision in one foot more than in another.

Some apparent instances of elision, whether in Martial or in Statius, would, I fancy, disappear by a very slight alteration of the text: it is highly probable that some of them are due to ignorance (on the part of 'redactors') of the rules which I have formulated. But, in any case, what I have said should have made it clear how sparingly both these authors employ elision, and how incorrect are all modern attempts to imitate their hendecasyllables. The hendecasyllables of our best composers stand in much the same relation to the hendecasyllables of Martial as Greek Iambic verses which constantly violate 'Porson's Canon' stand to the verses of Sophocles or Euripides.

H. W. GARROD.

THE ALPHABET OF BEN SIRA.

Ecclesiasticus, or the 'Wisdom of Ben Sira,' ends or ended with an acrostic alphabetic poem on Wisdom, hereinafter called the 'Alphabet of Ben Sira.' According to Edersheim in the *Speaker's Commentary*, "Bickell endeavours to prove that it was an alphabetic psalm." Bickell's discovery, as I should say, that it was alphabetic was published in the *Zeitschrift für Kath. Theol.* of 1882. Versions only of Ecclesiasticus were then extant; but these, when the question had once been raised, seemed to point clearly enough to an alphabetic acrostic as the lost original Hebrew of chap. li. 13—29.

As the result of discoveries made in and after 1896 we have now a Hebrew text of the greater part of the book, including the acrostic, which (with other fragments) was first published in the Cambridge *Wisdom of Ben Sira* (1899). In that volume, of which I was joint-editor, I gave Bickell's reconstruction of the acrostic with some alternative suggestions; the above-mentioned Hebrew text being corrupt, dislocated and defective, and so like the Syriac that some regard it as a retranslation from that version. Subsequent attempts to spell out the 'Alphabet' will be noticed below. Ver. 19 *c* Gr., I now think, is the key to the solution.

In the following Greek text the usual numbering is retained for convenience of reference, although it makes the four verses 15, 19, 20, 26 correspond to four *plus* five lines of the acrostic. The same numbers are used for the Hebrew and the Syriac, to shew how they correspond in detail with one another and with the Greek.

Σοφια Σειραχ li. 13—29 from *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, ed. H. B. Swete D.D. (ii. 753 f, Camb. 1896), with the letters of Ben Sira's Alphabet assigned conjecturally to their places in relation to the Greek.

א 13 ἔτι ὢν νεώτερος πρὶν ἢ πλανηθῆναί με,
ἐζήτησα σοφίαν προφανῶς ἐν προσευχῇ μου·
ב 14 ἔναντι ναοῦ ἠξίουν περὶ αὐτῆς,
καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτων ἐκζητήσω αὐτήν.
ג 15 ἐξ ἄνθους ὡς περκαζούσης σταφυλῆς
εὐφράνθη ἡ καρδία μου ἐν αὐτῇ·
ד ἐπέβη ὁ πούς μου ἐν εὐθύτητι,
ἐκ νεότητός μου ἴχνευον αὐτήν.
ה 16 ἔκλινα ὀλίγον τὸ οὖς μου καὶ ἐδεξάμην,
καὶ πολλὴν εὗρον ἐμαυτῷ παιδείαν·
ו 17 προκοπὴ ἐγένετό μοι ἐν αὐτῇ·
τῷ διδόντι μοι σοφίαν δώσω δόξαν.
ז 18 διενοήθην γὰρ τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτήν,
καὶ ἐζήλωσα τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ οὐ μὴ αἰσχυνθῶ.
ח 19 διαμεμάχισται ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῇ,
καὶ ἐν ποιήσει λιμοῦ διεκριβασάμην·
ט τὰς χεῖράς μου ἐξεπέτασα πρὸς ὕψος,
* * * * * * *
י * * * * * * *
καὶ τὰ ἀγνοήματα αὐτῆς ἐπένθησα·
כ 20 τὴν ψυχήν μου κατεύθυνα εἰς αὐτήν,
* * * * * * *
ל καρδίαν ἐκτησάμην μετ' αὐτῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς,
καὶ ἐν καθαρισμῷ εὗρον αὐτήν·
διὰ τοῦτο οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλειφθῶ.
מ 21 καὶ ἡ κοιλία μου ἐταράχθη ἐκζητῆσαι αὐτήν·
διὰ τοῦτο ἐκτησάμην ἀγαθὸν κτῆμα.
נ 22 ἔδωκεν Κύριος γλῶσσάν μοι μισθόν μου,
καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ αἰνέσω αὐτόν.
ס 23 Ἐγγίσατε πρὸς μέ, ἀπαίδευτοι,
καὶ αὐλίσθητε ἐν οἴκῳ παιδείας.
ע 24 καὶ ὅτι ὑστερεῖσθαι λέγετε ἐν τούτοις,
καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ ὑμῶν διψῶσι σφόδρα,

פ 25 ἤνοιξα τὸ στόμα μου καὶ ἐλάλησα
Κτήσασθε αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ἀργυρίου·
צ 26 τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ζυγόν,
καὶ ἐπιδεξάσθω ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν παιδείαν·
ק ἐγγύς ἐστιν εὑρεῖν αὐτήν.
* * * * * * * * *
ר 27 ἴδετε ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑμῶν ὅτι ὀλίγον ἐκοπίασα,
καὶ εὗρον ἐμαυτῷ πολλὴν ἀνάπαυσιν.
ש 28 μετάσχετε παιδείαν ἐν πολλῷ ἀριθμῷ ἀργυρίου,
καὶ πολὺν χρυσὸν κτήσασθε ἐν αὐτῇ·
ת 29 εὐφρανθείη ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ ἐλέει αὐτοῦ
καὶ μὴ αἰσχυνθείητε ἐν αἰνέσει αὐτοῦ.

The initial words of the acrostic are here supposed to have been :

13	אני	20	לבי
14	בקשתיה	21	מעי
15	גמלתי	22	נתן
15	דרכה	23	סורו
16	הטיתי	24	עד
17	ותועלה	25	פי
18	זממתי	26	צוארכם
19	חשוק	26	קרובה
19	טפחתי	27	ראו
19	ידי	28	שמעו
20	כוננתי	29	תשמח

The Cairo Genizah Text of Ecclesiasticus li. 13—29, shewing the letters of Ben Sira's Alphabet which remain.

13 אני נער הייתי 14 וחפצתי בה ובקשתיה :

15 באמתה דרכה רגלי אדני מנעורי חכמה למדתני :

13 ואתפלל תפלה בנערותי 16 והרבה מצאתי דעה :

17 עלה היה לי לכבוד ולמלמדי אתן הודאה :

18 חשבתי להיטיב ולא אהפך כי אמצאנו :

19 חשקה נפשי בה 20 ופני לא אהפך ממנה :

20 נפשי נתתי אחריה ולנצח נצחים לא אט ...

19 ידי פתחה שעריה ולה אחז ואביט בה

20 ובטהרה מצאתיה ולב קניתי לה מתחלתה בעבור כן

21 כעי יהמו כתנור להביט בה בעבור כן קניתיה קנין טוב :

22 נתן יי לי שכר שפתותי ובלשוני אהודנו :

23 פנו אלי סכלים ולינו בבית מדרשי :

24 עד מתי תחסרון מן אילו ואילו ונפשכם צמאה מאד תהיה :

25 פי פתחתי ודברתי בה קנו לכם חכמה בלא כסף :

26 וצואריכם בעלה הביאו ומשאה תשא נפשכם :

26 קרובה היא למבקשיה ונותן נפשו מוצא אתה

27 ראו בעיניכם כי קטן הייתי ועמדתי בה ומצאתיה :

28 רבים שמעו למודי בנערותי וכסף וזהב תקנו בי :

29 תשמח נפשי בישיבתי ולא תבושו בשירתי :

BAR SIRA LI. 13—29 from De Lagarde's *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Syriace.*

13 ܐܠܐ ܠܝܬ (*sic*) ܠܟ 14 ܒܝ ܕܝܠܝ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

15 ܕܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ. ܕܐ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

16 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ. 17 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

18 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

19 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ. 20 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

20 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

19 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

20 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

21 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

22 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

23 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

24 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

25 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

26 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

26 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

27 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

28 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

29 ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ.

These three texts of the acrostic will be referred to by the letters 𝔊, 𝔖, 𝔖. They are discussed below in three sections: the first (A) an attempted reconstruction of the original from 𝔊 and 𝔖; the next (B) a study of 𝔖 in relation to 𝔖; and the third (C) a general conclusion.

A.

Shortly after the first publication of 𝔖 in the above-mentioned Cambridge edition by Dr S. Schechter and the present writer (abbrev. *Camb. B.S.*) the acrostic was discussed by P. Nivard Schlögl in vol. 53 of the Z.D.M.K. (1899), under the name *Das Alphabet des Siraciden*; and again by Bickell, in vol. 13 of the Vienna Oriental Journal (1899), art. *Der hebräische Sirachtext eine Rückübersetzung*. Schlögl's reconstruction of ll. 5—9 of the 'Alphabet' is as follows:

ד֜תפללתי תפלה מנערי	והרבה מצאתי דעה :
ו֜עלה היה לי לכבוד	למלמדי אתן תודה :
ז֜את חשבתי להיטיב	ולא אחפר כי אמצאנו :
ח֜שקה נפשי בה	ופני לא אהפך ממנה :
ט֜רדתי נפשי אחריה	ולנצח נצחים לָהּ אֵמָּה :

Bickell in the V. O. J. (or W. Z. K. M.), with hemistichs as in Pss. xxv., xxxiv. for ה and ו, and זְכֹר for initial word of the ז line, gives the following four lines for the same five letters.

ד֜טיתי כמעט אזני	ורב מצאתי לי מוסר :
ז֜כר היה לי עליה	למחכמי אתן כבוד :
ח֜שבתי לעבד אֵתָּהּ	ואקנא טוב ולא אבושה :
ט֜בועה נפשי בתוכה	ופני אל עבדתה שמתי :

On the acrostic see also Prof. Israel Lévi's *L'Ecclésiastique*, a commentary completed in 1901; the Heb. Text of Ecclus. with a commentary by Dr Norbert Peters (1902); and Strack's *Die Sprüche Jesus' des Sohnes Sirachs*, the Heb. Text with short critical notes (1903).

In an attempt to reconstruct the original Hebrew the first step is to decipher the text as we have it. For the most part the script is plain and legible, but it presents difficulties here and there. In *Camb. B.S.*, as was pointed out in the Preface, I used Dr Schechter's transcript and (exc. fol. B 5) had not looked at the MS. I have now examined the facsimile (Oxf. & Camb. 1901) and the MS. of 𝔐.

The Greek text is on the whole better than 𝔐. It is more nearly complete, and in the form 𝔊 seemingly quite free from dislocations; but we must not assume it to be better than it is. Along with 𝔊 we have to take account of the variants, as Fritzsche has done in his *Libri Apocr. V.T. Graece* (1871). On the MSS. to be consulted see Edersheim on Ecclus. in the 'Speaker's Commentary' (*Intr.* p. 24 f., 1888).

The Old Latin gives important help in a few places. "All the variants from four MSS. are given by Sabatier" (ib. p. 29).

Opinions differ about the dialect in which Ben Sira wrote, but I do not doubt that his language was Biblical Hebrew (*Camb. B.S.* p. VII.). As a rule I accordingly regard neo-Heb. readings as late variants; but some correct forms and uses which we know as rabbinic may be classical.

Bickell, Schlögl and others have formed theories about the metre in which they suppose Ben Sira to have written. Too much may be made of such theories; but I assume as a working hypothesis that his hemistichs consisted of *seven* or *eight* syllables each, with an option in the reckoning of Shvas and the conjunction ו.

𝔐 being corrupt and in great disorder, the reconstructor is driven to make free use of conjecture. General reasoning must be used, and the recognised sources of error allowed for. In the case of Ecclus., as I have written elsewhere (*Journ. of Th. Studies*, i. 583), I take it that oral teaching is responsible for a number of misreadings. Thus, for example, synonymous substitutions are accounted for.

Note lastly that Biblical reminiscences of a scribe or catechist may be sources of error. See Sir. xxxii. 3 והצנע ישכל (Gr. *ἐν ἀκριβεῖ ἐπιστήμῃ*), where marg. לכת is a pseudo-

correction of שכל, and והצנע a corruption of בהצנע, suggested by Mic. vi. 8 והצנע לכת.

Verse 13.

Putting together the two clauses numbered 13 above (p. 98) and in Strack's text, we get for the א line according to 𝔖,

אני נער הייתי ואתפלל תפלה בנערותי :

He was very young and he prayed a prayer for Wisdom, cf. Jas. i. 5.

πλανηθῆναι] The A.V. renders the verse "When I was yet young, or ever I *went abroad* (marg. *went astray*), I desired wisdom openly in my prayer." The R.V. has 'sought' for 'desired' and omits the marginal rendering, which does not give a right sequence. The writer would rather have said that he went astray before he sought wisdom, cf. Ps. cxix. 67 *Before I was afflicted I went astray.* Nevertheless 'went astray' may be right as a rendering, the fault being in the Greek. By 'went abroad' the writer is thought to allude to his travels (xxxiv. 11); but would he have mentioned as a thing remarkable that he prayed for wisdom even before he had wandered in foreign lands? "Yet *to wander* may mean no more than *to leave the nest*" (Edersheim), or say, to go 'abroad out of the house' (Ex. xii. 46). This makes sense, but 𝔊 scarcely suggests it. If πλανηθῆναι is wrong, what was the Hebrew which it misrepresents?

A Prologue to Ecclus. tells us that "This Jesus did imitate Solomon." What more natural then than that he should have alluded to Solomon's dream in 1 Kings iii. 5—15; 2 Chron. i. 7—12? In 1 Kings iii. 7 Solomon says ואנכי נער קטן לא אדע, *and I am but a little child: I know not* how to go out or come in. In the acrostic read לא ידעתי, *I knew not*, comparing for the construction without an accusative Ps. lxxiii. 22 ולא אדע, so foolish was I *and ignorant*"; Job viii. 9 ולא נדע, "for we are but of yesterday *and know nothing*." From ידעתי easily comes דעיתי by transposition, and then תעיתי, *I went astray.*

ἐζήτησα] Read אשאל or ישאלתי, comparing 2 Chron. i. 11 ותישאל, *but hast asked* wisdom and knowledge for thyself: Ps. xl. 7 לא שאלת, *οὐκ ἐζητήσας*. With עוד for 𝔊 *ἔτι* we have then for the sense, *I was yet a child and ignorant, and I sought wisdom in prayer*; and for the line itself,

אני עוד נער לא ידעתי ואשאל חכמה בתפלה (or תי־):

Or read ובתפלה שאלתי חכמה.

In either case the necessary words fill up the line and leave no room for the inappropriate *προφανῶς, en public* (Lévi), cf. Matt. vi. 5 (Mk xii. 40) *ὅπως φανῶσιν κτἑ*.

Verse 14.

ובקישתיה] His next step being to begin to seek her, transpose בקשתיה and make it the initial word of the ב line.

ἔναντι ναοῦ (*al.* *λαοῦ*)] Smend conjectures *ἐν νεότητί μου* for *ἔναντι ναοῦ* (Peters), which Ryssel cancels as an interpolation occasioned by the preceding *ἐν προσευχῇ μου* (Lévi), cf. Ps. v. 7 *I will worship toward thy holy temple*. Or *ἔναντι ναοῦ* (or *λαοῦ*) may have come from a reminiscence of 1 Kings viii. 22 (2 Chron. vi. 12), where Solomon stands "before the altar of the Lord in the presence of all the congregation of Israel." What is wanted is a phrase to contrast with *ἕως ἐσχάτων, unto the last*. For *ναοῦ* first read היכל, *temple*, and then strike out the *yod*. Thus we get לפני הכל, *ἔναντι τοῦ παντός*. He sought her *before everything*, and was resolved to search for her *ἕως ἐσχάτων*. Conversely, from הכל would come היכל, *ναοῦ*, and thence *λαοῦ*, with *προφανῶς* (ver. 13) as a misplaced variant for *ἔναντι λαοῦ*.

וחפצתי בה] This anticipates 𝔊 *εὐφράνθη* (ver. 15). Actual delight in Wisdom presupposes acquaintance. We may therefore take חפצתי to be out of place, and a corruption of something more or less like it. One word Amos in Greek and English stands for two Hebrew names ending in ם and ן respectively. For חפן substitute חפשׂ, which would well express his diligent search for Wisdom, cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 19—23 וְחִפַּשְׂתֶּם אותו, "Doth not David hide himself?...*I will search him out* through-

out all the thousands of Judah." For the ב line I accordingly suggest,

בקשתיה לפני הכל ועד אחרית אחפשנה :

VERSE 15.

Bickell's retranslation from the Greek is,

גמלה כענב בושל ישמח לבי עליה :

ἐξ ἄνθους] In *Camb. B. S.*, p. LXXX., I wrote, "Bickell's suggestion for the *gimel* is convincing. Starting from the Latin *Efflorui tanquam praecox uva, laetatum est cor meum in ea* as a rendering of the Greek, he gives for the latter, 'vielleicht *ἐξήνθησεν ὡς περκάζουσα σταφυλή*,' and for this in Hebrew גמלה כו'." By this I meant that the ג line must have begun with some part of the verb גמל, not necessarily גמלה. See in Sir. xiv. 18 Heb. marg. גומל, and the same with צומח as a correction in the text. In Prov. xxxi. l. 3 of the acrostic begins גמלתהו (ver. 12).

The R.V. of the verse is, "From *her* flower as from the ripening grape my heart delighted in her," as if Wisdom had not "been created before all things" (i. 4). For *ἐξ ἄνθους* I conjectured *ἐξανθοῦσα* as a simpler emendation than *ἐξήνθησεν*, and found authority for it in Holmes and Parsons' note, "'Εξ ἄνθους] *εξανθουσης* 23. *εξανθουση* 253. *εξανθουσα* 254." Emending G so as to read,

ἐξανθοῦσα ὡς περκάζουσα σταφυλὴ
εὐφράνθη ἡ καρδία μου ἐν αὐτῇ,

and comparing Isa. xviii. 5 וּבֹסֶר גֹּמֵל, I think that l. 3 of the acrostic may have been something like,

גמלתי כ(מו) בסר ענב ולבבי ישמח בה :

In the Latin as quoted above *Efflorui* might have the following *cor* for its subject. Or drop the *t* before *tanquam* and read,

Efflorui tanquam praecox uva,
laetatum est cor meum in ea.

2. Doubtless the ד line began דרכה רגלי, and probably it ended חקרתיה, cf. Prov. xxiii. 30; Sir. xiv. 22.

באמתה] With 𝔊 *ἐν εὐθύτητι* cf. Sir. vii. 6 בתמימיך, *ἐν εὐθύτητί σου*. If this be right, Ben Sira used a form תמימים pl. for Bibl. תמים sing., and might have written בתמימים or בתמימיה in the acrostic. But in vii. 6 we should perhaps read בתמימֶךָ sing., and in li. 15,

דרכה רגלי בתמימה מנעורי חקרתיה :

This implies *ἐν εὐθύτητι αὐτῆς*, cf. Herm. *Vis.* iii. 5. 3 *ὅτι ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν τῇ εὐθύτητι τοῦ Κυρίου*. Note the combination בתמים ובאמת in Josh. xxiv. 14; Jud. ix. 16, 19.

אדני] Of the ejaculation 'O Lord' there is no trace in 𝔊. Possibly both this and 𝔗 באמתה and למדתי are due to a reminiscence of Ps. xxv. 5,

הדריכני בַּאֲמִתֶּךָ ולמדני כי אתה אלהי ישעי כו׳ :

חכמה] The word Wisdom is out of place here: but it is a true survival from the original Hebrew, in which it belonged to the א line.

Verse 16.

𝔊 *ἔκλινα* shews that l. 5 began הטיתי (Bickell). Inserting לי for 𝔊 *ἐμαυτῷ* we then get at once for the greater part of the line,

הטיתי מעט אזני .... והרבה מצאתי לי דעה :

After אזני, *my ear*, there is room for two syllables in place of 𝔊 *καὶ ἐδεξάμην*, which I take to represent some corruption in the Hebrew.

לקח] *Καὶ ἐδεξάμην* points clearly to the verb לרה: but there is also a noun לקח, *doctrina*, *scientia*, *sapientia*, found in one of the books which Ben Sira most imitates (Prov. i., iv., vii., ix., xvi.) and in the Cairene text of Sir. xxxii. 14 (cf. in Prol. *παιδ. καὶ σοφ.*). The halves of the ה line probably affirmed, the one the writer's receptivity only—he inclined his ear *to instruction*: and the other the outcome of it. Read therefore,

הטיתי מעט אזני לֶלֶקַח והרבה מצאתי לי דעה :

Verse 17.

The ה line coming next before and the ז line, as I think, next after, the line corresponding to προκοπὴ κτέ must be the ו line of the acrostic, although ו and καί or δέ are missing in 𝔙 and 𝔊 respectively.

προκοπὴ δέ] With 𝔙 עלה, *her yoke*, compare 𝔙 בעלה הביאו (ver. 26), and Sir. vi. 30 *Her yoke is an ornament of gold*, a reminiscence of which may have occasioned the insertion of עלה in this verse. In place of it we seem to want a word meaning προκοπή which could easily be corrupted into עלה. For תועלה, a word which satisfies these conditions, see Sir. xxx. 23, "for sorrow hath killed many, and there is no *profit* therein"; xli. 14, "wisdom that is hid, and a treasure that is not seen, what *profit* is in them both?"

Put תועלה, *profit* or *progress*, for προκοπή. For ἐγένετο we must then have היתה fem.; לכבוד becomes impossible; and the clause ends naturally with בה for 𝔊 ἐν αὐτῇ. As a synonym for 𝔙 מלמדי, *my teacher* or *teachers*, 𝔊 suggests מחכמי. Replace the Mishnic הודאה by the Biblical תודה, and we get,

ותועלה היתה לי בה למחכמי אתן תודה :

𝔊 δόξαν may be for תודה misread הוד, but cf. 𝔙 כבוד in the first hemistich. Or read למחכמני אתן הוד, comparing Sir. xlvii. 8 נתן הודות.

With 𝔊 προκοπή and ἐζήλωσα (ver. 18), remembering that Jewish exegetes identify Wisdom with Torah, compare St Paul's saying in Gal. i. 14, "And *I profited* in the Jews' religion..., being...*zealous* of the traditions of my fathers." In Ps. xlv. 5 see Σ. πρόκοπτε for צלח.

Verse 18.

𝔙 rendered literally is "I purposed to do well, and would not turn back for I would find it"; and 𝔊 διενοήθην κτέ, "For I purposed to practise (A.V. do *after*) her, and I was zealous for that which is good, and shall not be shamed." The line is a hard one to restore completely, but doubtless its initial word was זממתי, which a catechist would quite naturally alter into חשבתי. For the less familiar זממתי see,

Prov. xxxi. 16 זממה, "She *considereth* a field, and buyeth it." This verse is the ז line of the אשת חיל 'Alphabet.'

Zech. viii. 15 זממתי להיטיב, "So again *have I thought* in these days *to do well* unto Jerusalem and to the house of Judah"; LXX. here *διανενόημαι τοῦ καλῶς ποιῆσαι*, and in ver. 14 *διενοήθην* for זממתי.

To harmonise 𝔊 with 𝔚 להיטיב read *τοῦ εὖ ποιῆσαι*. Two lines below stands אחריה (ver. 20) where it is not wanted. Taking a suggestion from this read זממתי להיטיב אחריה, *I purposed to do well after her*, i.e. to be diligent in following her.

𝔚 אהפך cannot be right both here and just below (ver. 20). If the former אהפך is a corruption of אחפר by assimilation to the latter, the ז line may have ended ולא אֶחְפַּר, *καὶ οὐ μὴ αἰσχυνθῶ*. The word חפר is used, "Plerumque de pudore e spe et fiducia irritis." The votary of Wisdom is resolved to persevere and not be disappointed in his quest. With קנאתי לטוב for 𝔊 *ἐζήλωσα τὸ ἀγαθόν* the whole line would be,

זמיתי להיטיב אחריה קנאתי לטוב ולא אחפר :

Verse 19.

1. 𝔚 חישקה נפשי בה, *my soul clave to her*, is presumably right as far as it goes, and 𝔊 *διαμεμάχισται*, A.V. and R.V. *my soul hath wrestled*, may have come from חישקה read as עישקה, cf. עשק, *vixa*, in Gen. xxvi. 20, Joseph. Ἔσκος...*μάχην ἄν τις αὐτὸ φήσειε*. 𝔚 makes the first half of the line too short, but 𝔊 *διαμεμάχισται* (*al.* -*ηται*) connotes emphasis, which would be expressed in Hebrew by duplication. Read therefore חישוק חישקה נפשי בה.

For the rest of the line see 𝔊, which gives *καὶ ἐν ποιήσει λιμοῦ διηκριβασάμην*. A variant *μου* accounts for the impossible λιμοῦ of "The best MSS." (*Camb. B. S.* p. LXXXV.), but is itself a false reading for *αὐτῆς* (𝔊 ver. 18 *τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτήν*). The Latin *et in faciendo eam* may be retranslated ובעבדתה, cf. Sir. vi. 19 כי בעבדתה כו׳. Thus the hemistich would give the fit sense, "And I was punctual *in her service*." But what was the Hebrew for *διηκριβασάμην*?

צנע] For parts of this verb see,

Mic. vi. 8 והצנע לכת, which should be compared with Eph. v. 15 *πῶς ἀκριβῶς* (*al. ἀκρ. πῶς*) *περιπατεῖτε*.

Sir. xvi. 25 ובהצנע אחוה דעי, Gr. *καὶ ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ ἀπαγγελῶ ἐπιστήμην*.

Sir. xxxi. 22 בכל מעשיך היה צנוע.

Sir. xxxii. 3 והצנע שכל, Gr. *ἐν ἀκριβεῖ ἐπιστήμῃ*.

Sir. xlii. 8 ואיש צנוע לפני כל חי.

Writing הצנעתי for 𝔊 *διηκριβασάμην*, we have for the ח line,

חשוק חשקה נפשי בה ובעבדתה הצנעתי׃

𝔖 l. 6 should end with a blank, ופני כו׳ there belonging to another line and verse.

2. The ט line has been found the *crux* of the acrostic, 𝔊 *τὰς χεῖρας κτέ* and 𝔖 ידי כו׳ having been assumed to be variants, cf. Bickell and Lévi's ידי פרשתי. But *τὰς χεῖράς μου* may represent כפי, which goes better than ידי with a word meaning *ἐξεπέτασα*. For כפים so used see,

1 Kings viii. 38 ופרש כפיו, *and spread forth his hands* toward this house. 54 וכפיו פרשות, Solomon...*with his hands spread* up to heaven.

Sir. xlviii. 20 ויפרשו אליו כפים, *ἐκπετάσαντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτόν*.

Ben Sira spreads out his palms למרום, 𝔊 *πρὸς ὕψος*. The word wanted for 'spread out' here is supplied by Isa. xlviii. 13, "et dextra mea *expandit* (טִפְּחָה) caelum." This makes the first half of the ט line,

טפחתי כפי למרום.

There is nothing to shew how it ended, but the general sense is obvious: he makes his appeal to heaven as the home and source of the Wisdom which he seeks.

3. With a conjectural ending instead of 𝔖 בה, which makes its latter hemistich too short, I propose to read the י line,

ידי פתחה שעריה ולה אַחַז ואביט בְּטָהֳרָהּ׃

His appeal is crowned with success: his hand opens her gates, and he looks for her and beholds her heavenly brightness: see Ex. xxiv. 10 וכעצם השמים לְטֹהַר, R.V. "and as it were the very heaven *for clearness*"; Sir. xliii. 1 marg. ועצם שמים להביט טהר. Possibly שעריה, *her gates*, is a variant for דלתותיה, cf. Prov. viii. 35.

אֶחֱזֶ] When I saw the MS. I read אחז, for אחזה apocopated, comparing Job xxiii. 9 ולא אֶחֱזֶ, *but I cannot behold* him, cf. Sect. C (p. 125). Strack gives the same reading and reference.

בטהרה] 𝔊 *καὶ τὰ ἀγνοήματα αὐτῆς ἐπένθησα*, Lat. *et insipientiam ejus luxi*, is derivable from ואביט בטהרה. The A.V. and the R.V. read, "And bewailed *my* ignorances of her." (1) For *ἐπένθησα* restore *ἐπενόησα*, with Holmes and Parsons' MSS. 23, 55, 106, 248, 253, 254. (2) Suppose בטהרה to have been rendered *τὴν ἁγνείαν αὐτῆς*, cf. Jas. iii. 17 *the wisdom that is from above is first ἁγνή*. From ΑΓΝΕΙΑΝ would have come ΑΓΝΟΙΑΝ, and thence *ἀγνοήματα* as a catechist's synonym, and (?) *ἄνοιαν*, *insipientiam*, in one way or other.

The reading בטהרה here has been objected to on the ground that it belongs to another line of the poem (ver. 20): but it is after the manner of Ben Sira to play upon like words as טהר, *brightness*, and טהרה, *purity*. With parts of his acrostic compare from the 'Wisdom of Solomon,'

vii. 25 She is...a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty:
Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her.
26 For she is an effulgence from everlasting light.
29 For she is fairer than the sun,
And above all the constellations of the stars:
Being compared with light, she is found to be before it.
viii. 2 Her I loved and sought out from my youth,
And I sought to take her for my bride.

Verse 20.

1. Retranslating 𝔊 *κατεύθυνα κτέ* Bickell reads כוננתי נפשי אליה. Adding ופני כו from 𝔙 l. 6 we get for the כ line,

כוננתי נפשי אליה ופני לא אהפך ממנה :

He sets his soul toward her, and cannot turn away his face

from her. Compare in the *Faerie Queene* (iii. 8. 22, 24), on Florimell and the Fisher,

22 But when he saw that blazing beauties beame,
Which with rare light his bote did beautifye,
He marveiled more, and thought he yet did dreame.
24 But his deceiptfull eyes did never lin
To looke on her faire face and marke her snowy skin.

ולא אט] On the decipherment of the end of 𝔊 l. 7 see below (p. 120). Comparing, with Strack, Job xxiii. 11 ולא אָט, where אט is for אטה from נטה, we may read,

ולנצח נצחים לא אט ממנה :

This and ופני כו׳ make a doublet, the latter being, as I have assumed, the true ending of the כ line. The former *minus* נצחים would be a good enough hemistich, but is doubtless only a variant. When ופני כו׳ had taken the place of the lost latter half of the ח line, another ending was wanted for the כ line.

2. Some Greek MSS., agreeing with 𝔊, have *καὶ ἐν καθαρισμῷ κτέ* before *καρδίαν κτέ*, but I suppose 𝔊 to have the right order.

קניתי ולב] 𝔊 l. 9 rendered literally is, "And in pureness I found her; *and heart* I gat to her from her beginning: therefore...." It has been taken for granted that the initial word of the ל line was לב, but I would now read it לבי, *my heart*. After it comes 𝔊 קניתי, and in 𝔊 l. 10 קניתיה קנין, which cannot both be right, cf. 𝔊 ll. 5, 6 אהפך. Rejecting קניתי as corrupt, transpose and read נִקִּיתִי, giving the sense, "*I cleansed* my heart for her from...." At the end of the hemistich there is now room for a Hebrew word of one syllable, which should satisfy the two conditions of being appropriate and easily corruptible into 𝔊 תחלתה, *her beginning*.

מרע] "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart *from evil* is understanding" (Job xxviii. 28). The missing monosyllable is רע. For wisdom he cleanses his heart from evil, and so he finds her. From רע would come ריש, and then רֵאשִׁית (Deut. xi. 12) or the like, 𝔊 *ἀρχῆς*. Hence as a synonym

תחלה, and then 𝔖 תחלתה, *her beginning*, suggested by Prov. ix. 10 *the beginning of wisdom.* For the whole line I read,

לבי נקיתי לה מרע ובְּטָהֳרָה מצאתיה :

He finds her *ἐν καθαρισμῷ*, i.e. as a result of his self-purification. The 'pure in heart' shall see Wisdom. Philo exhorts his readers to come to their studies with purified minds, freeing themselves from worldly things, which hide the truth (J. Q. R. xvii. 81).

Verse 21.

For 𝔖 יהמו, 𝔊 *ἐταράχθη*, read יחמו with *cheth* (Schechter). Both hemistichs are too long. For the former, regarding להביט בה as due to assimilation, viz. to 𝔖 ver. 19 ואביט בה, read with לה at the end, מעי יחמו בתנור לה. His inward parts glowed like an oven for her, cf. Hos. vii. 6, 7, "For they have made ready their heart like an oven...They are all hot like an oven." Taking another illustration from the *Faerie Queene* (iii. 7. 16) compare, on Florimell and the Witches Sonne,

> Closely the wicked flame his bowels brent,
> And shortly grew into outrageous fire.

To reduce the latter hemistich to a right length we might read על כן for 𝔖 בעבור כן (cf. 𝔖 l. 9), but I think that an asseverative אכן (Gen. xxviii. 16; Ex. ii. 14) is more appropriate Read therefore,

מעי יחמו כתנור לה אכן קניתיה קנין טוב :

Her 'blazing beauties beame' sets him on fire for her: verily in her he had become possessed of a good possession, cf. Prov. iv. 7 ובכל קנינך קנה, "Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom: and *with all thy getting get* understanding."

Verse 22.

According to 𝔖 the Lord gave him ישבר שפתותי, *reward of my lips*, 𝔊 *γλῶσσάν μοι μισθόν μου.* 'Fruit' and 'reward' being sometimes identical (Ps. cxxvii. 3; Prov. xi. 18; Eccl. iv. 9), I venture to read for the נ line,

נתן יה לי פרי שפתותי ובלשוני אהודנו :

The Lord has awarded him fruit of his lips, that is eloquence, and with his tongue he will render acknowledgment to Him. Compare Heb. xiii. 15 (Hos. xiv. 2), "Through him then let us offer up a sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of lips which make confession to his name." It is suggested that he wrote שבר, meaning that the 'request of his lips' had been granted. On the other hand שבר after נחן may have been brought in from ver. 30 נותן שברכם (p. 115).

Verse 23.

Bickell's סורו restores the initial ם. To lengthen the first hemistich read הסכלים with ה vocative, and in the other read תלינו as a possible alternative to לינו 𝔊. Thus the line becomes,

סורו אלי הסכלים ו(ת)לינו בבית מדרשי :

𝔊 *ἐν οἴκῳ παιδείας* suggests בבית המוסר, and בית מדרשי may be thought questionable, as being too like the neo-Heb. בית המדרש; but the word מדרש is Biblical: it occurs in 2 Chron. xiii. 22, xxiv. 27. With סורו cf. Jael's סורה, *Turn in, my lord, turn in to me* (Jud. iv. 18); Prov. ix. 4, 16, "Whoso is simple, *let him turn in* (יָסֹר) hither."

Verse 24.

As a step toward the emendation of the first hemistich, which consists of eight *plus* two syllables, replace אילו ואילו by אלה. For מן אלה we might read מאלה. If all that remained of the clause had been עד מתי תחסרו, how could it have been best completed by conjecture?

The ם line has been illustrated and was perhaps suggested by Prov. ix. 4 f. In ver. 5 Wisdom says, "Come, eat of my *bread*, and drink of the wine which I have mingled." Ben Sira says of her (xv. 3), "With *bread* of understanding shall she feed him, And give him water of wisdom to drink." For the ע line these parallels point to the sense, "How long shall ye lack *bread*, and your soul be very thirsty?" Read therefore,

עד מתי תחסרו לחם ונפשכם צמאה מאד תהיה :

From לחם, *bread*, easily comes להם, *to them*, and out of that might possibly have come 𝔊 *ἐν τούτοις*. But with a transposition we get מלה, and thence מאלה, and finally 𝔙 מן אילו ואילו. After 'lack' comes quite naturally 'bread,' or 'bread and water.' Compare the Biblical phrases חֶסֶר לחם, חֹסֶר לחם; and Ezek. iv. 17 למען יחסרו לחם ומים.

Verse 25.

For the פ line read with 𝔙,

פי פתחתי ודברתי בה קנו לכם חכמה בלא כסף :

Or with 𝔊 omit בה, and read ואדברה (Dan. x. 16).

Verse 26.

1. Writing צ for וצ, and omitting a י to shorten the first hemistich, we get,

ציוארכם בעלה הביאו ומישאה תשא נפשכם :

2. For the ק line 𝔙 has,

קרובה היא למבקשיה ונותן נפשו מוצא אתה :

The A.V. marg. 'Deut. 30. 14' indicates the source of Ben Sira's קרובה. 𝔊, presumably through homoeoteleuton, reduces the verse to *ἐγγύς ἐστιν εὑρεῖν αὐτήν*.

Verse 27.

𝔙 begins with a hemistich of eight *plus* two syllables, but there is a satisfactory way of reducing it to eight. For קטן הייתי read קְטֹנְתִּי, comparing Gen. xxxii. 10, "*I am not worthy of the least of all* the mercies," marg. *I am less than all*. In the second hemistich 𝔙 עמידתי must be altered to עמלתי, or perhaps עבדתי, for which Lévi compares Sir. vi. 19. With the former reading the ר line becomes,

ראו בעיניכם כי קטנתי ועמלתי בה ומצאתיה :

Peters כי קטן עמלתי בו, *dass ich als Knabe (schon) mich mühte, und grosse Ruhe fand*. Possibly the Greek was once something like,

ἴδετε ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑμῶν ὅτι ὀλίγο[ς ὢ]ν
ἐκοπίασα καὶ εὗρον [αὐτήν].

'Little' as he was he gave his soul (vii. 20, ℌ ver. 26) and found her. At an earlier stage he was encouraged by much 'knowledge' as the reward of a little application (ver. 16), but in ver. 27 he says that *ὀλίγος ὢν εὗρεν αὐτήν*.

Lévi makes בה (or עבדתי) מעט עמלתי the original ending of ver. 27 *a*, and continues, "Le premier hémistiche étant ainsi grossi, le verbe a été rejeté à l'hémistiche suivant; mais il faut le replacer en *a*." In the Greek, with *ἐκοπίασα* wrongly included in the first hemistich, ver. 16 and vi. 19—28 would have suggested a way of filling up the second.

Verse 28.

Begin with שמעו; read הרבים with ה vocative; omit בנערותי as a duplicate of כי קטן הייתי; and write בו for ℌ בי. Thus the ש line becomes,

שמעו הרבים למודי וכסף וזהב תקנו בו :

He calls upon the 'great ones,' his seniors, to hearken to his *teaching*, promising that they shall profit thereby. With למוד as in the Bible the sense would be, "Hear, O ye great ones, that are *my disciples*," cf. Isa. liv. 13 למודי, *taught* (R.V. marg. *disciples*) of the Lord. 𝔊 *παιδείαν* gives למוד a sense which might be objected to as rabbinic. But is it, so to say, more rabbinic than תלמיד, *disciple*? See 1 Chron. xxv. 8 בקטן כגדול מבין עם תלמיד. Or read מוסרי for למודי.

It has been suggested that 'in my youth' here may be a corruption of נערתי, *my reproof* (Job xxvi. 11). 𝔊 suggests for the order of Heb. שמעו למודי הרבים וכסף כו׳. Taking away 'silver' from the second hemistich, it compensates by repeating 'much' from the first. Much money being made up of many coins *ἐν πολλῷ ἀριθμῷ* is merely a paraphrase for *ἐν πολλῷ*, cf. Isa. ii. 7 *ἐνεπλήσθη...ἀργυρίου...καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμὸς τῶν θησαυρῶν αὐτῶν*.

Verse 29.

ℌ and the versions differ about the ת line. With שיבה, *sessio*, for the more complete neo-Heb. form ישיבה, the line would be,

תשמח נפשי בשיבתי ולא תבושו בשירתי :

See 2 Sam. xix. 33 בשיבתו, *while he lay* at Mahanaim. A natural sense of *sessio* is a consessus, e.g. of scholars. The writer, addressing the 'great ones' whom he is now, as he thinks, qualified to teach, may have continued,

> My soul shall rejoice in my scholars;
> And ye shall not be ashamed of my lay.

Right or wrong as a reading this makes good sense, cf. Phil. iv. 1 *my brethren...my joy and crown*. Dr Schechter reads בשיבתי, *in my old age*, comparing Ps. lxxi. 17 f.; Sir. vi. 18, xxv. 3.

𝔊 ἐν τῷ ἐλέει αὐτοῦ...ἐν αἰνέσει αὐτοῦ] For Heb. בישועתו כו׳ (Schechter), which Lévi adopts and illustrates. Keeping 𝔓 בשירתי at the end of the line, we might also read תשמח נפשי בישועתי, with ישועתי in the sense 'my salvation' which is *from Him* who has made me wise (ver. 17), or which *is God* Himself. See Ex. xv. 2; Ps. lxii. 2, 3. In the MS. בישיבתי is written as if for בישעתי, the ב, י being run together so as to make a sort of ע.

Verse 30.

After the ת line, which concludes the 'Alphabet,' comes,

מעשיכם עשו בצדקה והוא נותן לכם שכרכם בעתו׃
ברוך יי לעולם ומישובח שמו לדור ודור׃

The second clause would be long enough without לכם, and the third would bear the addition of ועד. The line ברוך כו׳ is not represented in 𝔊.

B.

𝔓 and 𝔖 are strangely alike in their defects, dislocations, and other corruptions. If they agreed word for word throughout, so that either might be a literal rendering of the other, a way to set about proving that the one was a translation and the other its archetype would be to shew that the corruptions of the latter, so far as they can be accounted for, are of internal origin. In the present case the retranslationists explain 𝔖 l. 3 *a* as a corruption from the original Syriac, and they infer,

without having much else to rely upon, that ℌ is a retranslation from 𝔖. Their argument is only in part good even so far as it goes; and a close scrutiny of ℌ and 𝔖 brings out further evidence bearing upon the retranslation theory, every detail of which must be fairly considered by itself before the balance can be rightly struck. Walton's Polyglot, quoted below as W., contains a Syriac text of Ecclus. accompanied by a Latin translation.

Verse 13.

1. Read ܐܢܐ ܥܠܡ (W.), *I a youth*, sub. *was*, ℌ הייתי. It may be remarked that this with the addition of ܐܢܐ ܒܥܠܡ might account for 𝔖 ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ and also give the sense אני נער לא תעיתי assumed (p. 102) to explain 𝔊. But the reading of W. by itself is to be preferred.

2. 𝔖 l. 3*a* will be discussed under ver. 16.

Verse 14.

Here ℌ agrees with 𝔖, except that ם as pointed is masculine. It may be doubted whether ℌ וחפצתי is a corruption from within (p. 103), but in all probability בקשתיה, *ἠξίουν περὶ αὐτῆς* (𝔊 ver. 13 *σοφίαν*), is a survival from the true beginning of the ב line. 𝔖 gives no hint of the proper subject of the poem, which in W. connects thus with what precedes, "Propterea gratias agam, laudabo, benedicam nomini ejus sancto. *Adhuc juvenis oblectatus sum eo, et quaesivi eum.*"

Verse 15.

1. The ג line is wholly missing in ℌ and 𝔖, unless l. 1*b* contains a trace of what 𝔊 renders *εὐφράνθη ἐν αὐτῇ*. How came l. 3 to be lost? Perhaps because, owing to a transposition as in ℌ l. 2*a*, the ד line was mistaken for the ב line. This is curiously illustrated by the statement that the ב line is preserved in ℌ, made in *Camb. B. S.* p. 67 and corrected by the revised numbering at the end of p. 68.

2. 𝔖 ll. 2, 3 both end ܠܡܠܦܢܐ, *doctrinam* (W.). The retranslation theory makes ℌ חכמה and דעה renderings of this

one word: but חכמיה is doubtless a survival from the original Hebrew, and so perhaps is דעה. 𝔖 חכמה למדתי looks like an oral paraphrase of חקרתיה, *ἴχνευον αὐτήν*, with a reminiscence of the א line (𝔊 *σοφίαν*). Possibly an abbreviation ח was a contributory cause of the corruption in 𝔖.

Verse 16.

Assuming the correctness of 𝔊 *ἔκλινα ὀλίγον τὸ οὖς μου*, Bickell before the discovery of 𝔖 allowed himself what he calls a quite evident emendation of the absurd reading in 𝔗, 'und ich betete sein Gebet als ich klein war.' Gesenius s. r. צלא gives the senses, (1) *declinavit, inclinavit*, 'in Targ. saepe pro נטה spec. *inclinavit aurem*,' (2) Pa. *oravit*, Dan. vi. 11 ומצלא, Ezra vi. 10 ומצלין. Syr. ܨܠܝ *ap.* Payne Smith having the same senses, ܨܠܝ, *ἔκλινα*, may have been misinterpreted 'I prayed,' and then supplemented by ܡܨܠܝ, *precem ejus*, a prayer *for it*, ܠܗ, or *to Him*. Thus far Bickell's emendation is a good one, but it 'does not end so well as it begins' (*Camb. B. S.* p. LXXXVI.).

a. Passing over 𝔊 *καὶ ἐδεξάμην* he renders ver. 16*a*,

הטיתי כמעט אזני.

But instead of Syr. ܠܘ, *τὸ οὖς μου*, he reads ܠܟ, *τὸ οὖς*, in order to account for ܠܟ, *I*, as a misreading of it. His כמעט with *kaf* is for 𝔖 כד וכחד, a phrase wrongly taken to mean *ὀλίγον*, whereas, with or without ܠܟ (ver. 28), it would mean here '*cum parvulus* essem,' כד being Syr. for *ὅτε*. Lévi endorses the assumption that 𝔖 כד זעור means 'en réalité *un peu*,' and the conjecture that 'אנא de la fin est une altération de אדנא, *l'oreille*.'

b. Bickell and Lévi overlook or omit to mention the fact that a completely different Syriac root רכן, *rkn*, may have been used to render הטיתי, *ἔκλινα*. It is actually used in earlier chapters of Ecclus., thus,

iv. 8 ܐܪܟܢ, *incline* thine ear to the poor.
vi. 33 ܬܪܟܢ, and if *thou wilt incline* thine ear

While this is not decisive against the use of ܨܠܝ, *inclinavit*,

in the acrostic it casts some doubt upon it, and Bickell's consequential changes are questionable or wrong.

An alternative hypothesis is that 𝔐 l. 3*a* is ver. 13*b* out of place, and that 𝔖 *und ich betete das Gebet um sie*, i.e. ܘܨܠܝܬ (Peters), is from 𝔐 with 'um sie' added.

Verse 17.

From its position in 𝔊 next after ἔκλινα κτέ ver. 17 should represent the ו line, although all trace of that initial has disappeared. From תעלה or תועלה in the original Hebrew would have come 𝔊 προκοπή as a good rendering; 𝔐 עלה, *her yoke*, by clerical error; and thence 𝔖 ܥܠܘܗ, *Jugum ejus* (W.).

Lévi, having already decided that 𝔐 is a retranslation, begins on 𝔐 ver. 17, "Semblable à S.; ce peut être la bonne leçon." Then, supposing 𝔊 προκοπή a mistranslation and thinking of the suggestion זה עלה לי לכבוד made in *Camb. B. S.* p. LXXXII., he concludes, "C'est ce qu'avait supposé M. Bickell, qui approuve cette lecture [עלה, *'alah*], dans l'intérêt de la cause qu'il défend: en supposant que le verbe עלה était précédé de זה, *cela*, on obtient ainsi l'acrostiche voulu. Malheureusement il manque en G., comme en S., la moindre trace de ce mot. *Nous ne saurions, quant à nous, nous prononcer au sujet de l'acrostiche: peut-être le ז n'était-il pas representé.*"

Bickell's first rendering (Z. K. T.; *Camb. B. S.*) of ver. 17*a* was,

זאת היתה לי לכשרון,

and his second, in the V. O. J.,

זֵכֶר היה לי עליה.

Peters reads,

זהב היה לי עלה.

But I think that this is not the ז line.

Verse 18.

1. Bickell, Lévi and Peters take 𝔐 l. 5 to be the ח line and חשבתי its true initial word, Bickell and Lévi nevertheless regarding it as a retranslation from 𝔖 ܚܫܒܬ. The two words being such that either might be a rendering of the other,

independent data must be thrown in to turn the scale. For my own part I see no reason to doubt that the line began זממתי. This being a somewhat rare word, the commonplace חשבתי may very well have been substituted for it, and thence by translation would have come its equivalent in 𐡎.

2. Lévi's note on ver. 18*b* is, "G. *et je ne serai pas honteux.* Il a donc lu אבוש au lieu de אשוב (Schechter). אהפך en S. est la traduction de ce mot: c'est ce terme que copie le traducteur juif." On the other hand it may be contended, (1) that 𝔊 *καὶ οὐ μὴ αἰσχυνθῶ* represents ולא אחפר (Schlögl), with which the line first ended; (2) that 𝔙 אהפך is a corruption of אחפר, with assimilation to the same word in ver. 20, and 𐡎 ܐܬܒܗܬ a translation from 𝔙.

Verse 19.

1. 𐡎 l. 6*a* ܢܦܫ ܟܡ ܐܬܒܗܬ, W. *Abhaesit* (sic) *anima mea illi,* is all that remains of the ח line. As a rendering of 𝔙 חשקה, 𐡎 ܐܬܒܗܬ is obvious and natural, whereas to a retranslator into Hebrew it would have suggested דבקה from the same root, cf. Gen. ii. 24 ודבק באשתו, and not the less familiar חשקה. To begin the ח line the author himself may have written חשקה (השוק), with allusion to Gen. xxxiv. 8 and Isa. xxxviii. 17.

2. The whole of the ט line is missing in 𝔙 and 𐡎.

3. 𐡎 l. 8 ܠܒ ܐܬܦܬܚ] W. 'Manus mea ostium ejus aperuit. *Perlustravi eam* et intellexi illam.' Some decipher 𝔙, which is not clear, in the light of 𐡎. From עבר, *circumivit,* comes '*huc et illuc ivit* ad explorandum,' but אחז (pp. 109, 125) from חזה is more appropriate. Stumbling at the apocopated אחז Syr. turns it into אחזר from חזר, עבר.

4. 𐡎 ܐܬܒܥܬ for 𝔙 ואביט, Gr. *καὶ ἐπενόησα* (p. 109).

Verse 20.

1. 𐡎 l. 7*a* ܢܦܫܝ ܐܬܬ, lit. *dedi* animam meam *post eum*] Bickell rightly in Z. K. T. (1882) בוננתי אליה, by retranslation from the Greek. Hence by simple corruptions

ℌ נתתי אחריה, and then 𝔖 by literal translation. 𝔖 l. 6*b* probably belongs to the כ line.

2. 𝔖 l. 7*b* ܠܥܠܡ ܘܠܥܠܡܝ, in Heb. letters אטעיוהי] W. 'et in seculum seculorum non *obliviscar illius.*' Lévi [נה]מ אֹתָהּ לא, with the note, "La fin de l'hémistiche est difficile à déchiffrer; on peut lire avec M. Cowley: לא אטרדה, 'je ne la chasserai pas.' *En tout cas*, H. = S." For more on the MS. reading, of which little but אט remains, see Sect. C (p. 127).

3. 𝔖 l. 9 ܠܝ ܗܘܬ ܠܒܝ ܩܢܝܬܐ] W. '*Et cor possedi mihi* ab initio: Propterea non dimittam *illam*' (Syr. masc.). 𝔊 ἐκτησάμην μετ' αὐτῶν (*al.* αὐτῆς). Lévi on ℌ, "Même disposition des hémistiches en S.... Lire לי, *à moi*, au lieu de לה. Remarquer que, au lieu de מתחלתה, Ben Sira dirait מראש = G. et S." If *possedi* were right לי would be an obvious correction of לה, but it may be the verb that is wrong. From לבי נקיתי לה (p. 110) would have come ℌ ולב קניתי לה, and thence 𝔖 as a rendering with a conjectural miscorrection of לה. It is suggested that there was perhaps a reading מראש from ראש, *poison*, LXX. θυμός, χολή (Deut. xxxii. 33; Lam. iii. 20; cf. Wisd. viii. 16, Acts viii. 23), a word which may be mistaken for ראש, κεφαλή, ἀρχή, cf. Sir. xxv. 15 ܪܝܫ, "Nullum *caput* amarius est capite serpentis" (W.).

4. The clause בעבור כן כו׳ (cf. 𝔖 l. 9*b*) may be assumed to be a spurious ending of the ל line, dating from the time when ובטהרה מצאתיה had been put before instead of after לבי כו׳.

Verse 21.

1. ℌ להביט בה in the מ line is conjecturally explained in Sect. A as a misreading for לה suggested by ואביט בה in the נ line (p. 111). 𝔖 gives different words for הביט in the two places: the one would not have suggested the other. W. at the beginning ܡܟܠ, a misprint for ܡܟܐ, *Viscera mea.*

2. Whether ℌ בעבור כן in the מ line be a translation from 𝔖 or 𝔖 from ℌ, the phrase there is probably a repetition from the ל line.

Verse 22.

Differing from ℌ in the נ line, ℌ and 𝔊 have their words for לשון, *tongue*, in the first hemistich, the sense of which as it stands is not clear to me.

Verse 23.

1. ℌ ܠܫܢ accidentally preserves the initial letter of the ס line, which is missing in ℌ.

2. Lévi's note on the latter part of the line is, "בית מדרשי serait un néologisme un peu prématuré. Il y avait probablement בית מוסר." But בית מדרשי (with pron. *my*) is not quite the rabbinic בית המדרש; and it goes better with אלי, *unto me*, than a phrase meaning ܒܝܬ ܡܠܦܢܐ (without *my*), of which it is not an exact rendering.

Verse 24.

ℌ *minus* ואילו is equivalent to ℌ, so that the ע line in either might be a translation from the other.

Verse 25.

ℌ ܒܚܟܡܬ in the פ line is the first mention of Wisdom, the subject of the acrostic, in the Syriac. 𝔊 here Κτήσασθε *αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ἀργυρίου* without *σοφίαν*, and in the next verse *ζυγόν...παιδείαν* without *αὐτῆς*.

Verse 26.

1. The latter half of the צ line, ℌ ומישאה כו׳, is paraphrased in ℌ and 𝔊. The line is perhaps alluded to in Matt. xi. 29 f., "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; ... For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light."

2. The ק line, curtailed in 𝔊, is complete in ℌ and ℌ.

Verse 27.

Divided at 'vestris' or 'laboravi' the ר line, 'Aspicite oculis vestris: parum enim in ea laboravi, eamque multum acquisivi' (W.), has its hemistichs too unequal. Evidently it wants some

emendation. Expanding ܣ ܡ as below and omitting ܐ I would read Syr., in close agreement with ℌ,

ܡ ܚܟܝܡ ܗܟ ܘܚܦ ܡ
ܡ ܡܫܟܚ ܐ ܡ ܡܚܟ.

ܐ] Wisdom personified must be simply found or not found: not found a little or found much. Syr. *much* is therefore out of place in the ר line, although commonly assumed to belong to it on the authority of ℌ and 𝔊 against ℌ. ℌ takes רבים(ה) away from the next line, and reads it as הרבה after מצאתיה. 𝔊 reads *much, much, much* in the ר and ש lines, and goes astray in both of them.

Verse 28.

W. 'Audite doctrinam meam *licet exiguam*, et argentum et aurum per me possidebitis.' But ℌ כמ ומ, *when little*, corresponds to ℌ בנערותי, *in my youth*, which we may safely cancel as a needless repetition.

ℌ ܒ, ℌ בי, 𝔊 *ἐν αὐτῇ*] Is ℌ here from ℌ or ℌ from ℌ? Syr. ܒ, ܒ being more unlike than Heb. בי, בו, if the reference in 𝔊 be right we may say that ℌ בי came from בו and ℌ ܒ from בי.

Verse 29.

The sense of the ש line is given in W. as, 'Laetetur anima vestra *de poenitentia mea*, et ne pudeat vos *canticorum meorum*.' This agrees very well with ℌ בשירתי.

ℌ ܒ ܚ ܡ] Lévi, "Il est indéniable qu'ici encore H. dépend de S." But the obvious neo.-Heb. rendering of ℌ would have been תשמח נפשכם בתשובתי. Probably ℌ misread a word of the Hebrew as בשובתי (Isa. xxx. 15 בשובה), or as בתשובתי from rab. תשובה, *repentance*. Heb. בישועתי (*al.* בתשועתי) would account for 𝔊 ℌ (p. 115) and ℌ.

C.

1. *The Acrostic according to Section A.*

The 'Alphabet of Ben Sira' as given below sums up the constructive results of Section A, in which the several clauses were restored conjecturally from 𝔐 and 𝔊 without regard to 𝔖.

13 אני עוד נער לא ידעתי ואשאל חכמה בתפלה :

14 בקשתיה לפני הכל ועד אחרית אחפשנה :

15 גמלתי כבסר ענב ולבבי שמח בה :

דרכה רגלי בתמימה מנעורי חקרתיה :

16 הטיתי מעט אזני ללקח והרבה מצאתי לי דעה :

17 ותועלה היתה לי בה למחכמי אתן תודה :

18 זממתי להיטיב אחריה קנאתי לטוב ולא אחפר :

19 חשוק חשקה נפשי בה ובעבודתה הצנעתי :

* * * *

טפחתי כפי למרום ידי פתחה שעריה ולה אחז ואביט בטהרה :

20 כוננתי נפשי אליה ופני לא אהפך ממנה :

לבי נקיתי לה מרע ובטהרה מצאתיה :

21 למעי יחמי כתנור לה אכן קניתיה קנין טוב :

22 נתן יה לי פרי שפתותי ובלשוני אהודנו :

23 סורו אלי הסכלים ותלינו בבית מדרשי :

24 עד מתי תחסרו לחם ונפשכם צמאה מאד תהיה :

25 פי פתחתי ואדברה קנו לכם חכמה בלא כסף :

26 צוארכם בעלה הביאו ומשאה תשא נפשכם :

קרובה היא למבקשיה ונותן נפשו מוצא אותה :

27 ראו בעיניכם כי קטנתי ועמלתי בה ומצאתיה :

28 שמעו מוסרי הרבים וכסף וזהב תקנו בו :

29 תשמח נפשי בישועתי ולא תבושו בשירתי :

2. *Notes on the above Text.*

The lines of the conjectural Hebrew text in § 1 are quoted below by their initials simply, the letter 𝔊 as before meaning the text according to the MS. (p. 98).

l. א] While he was yet a child and *knew not* anything he could only, like Solomon, 'ask wisdom' for himself. Ver. 13 was therefore the place for *ἐζήτησα σοφίαν ἐν προσευχῇ μου*. 'In prayer' without *my* would express rather better that he made wisdom the special subject of prayer.

l. ב] With *ἠξίουν* for בקשתי cf. Esth. iv. 8, ix. 12; Dan. i. 8.

l. ג] Gr. 254 *ἐξανθοῦσα* points to the root נמל, and it was likely that the writer would allude to Isa. xviii. 5.

l. ד] 𝔊 l. 2 begins ב׳ דרכה, and is thus made to look like the ב line. This assimilation may have given rise to the further corruptions in 𝔊 ver. 13—15. Other faults in 𝔊 may be accounted for in like manner.

l. ה] There is now no trace of the hemistich הטיתי כו׳ in 𝔊. What has taken its place is the missing end of ver. 13, with ואתפלל תפלה (1 Kings viii. 29, 54) for ואשאל בתפלה. For Bickell's view see p. 117. With למדתי from 𝔊 l. 2*b* this line would end, (or דעת) למדתי דעה, cf. Ps. xciv. 10, cxix. 66; Job xxi. 22; Eccles. xii. 9. The commonplace מצא (ver. 16, 18, 20, 26, 27) may have come in as a variant.

l. ו] In the alphabetic Psalm xxv. the letters ו, ה begin hemistichs instead of whole verses (p. 105), and so in the alphabetic Psalm xxxiv.,

הביטו אליו ונהרו ופניהם אל יחפרו :

Bickell here puts both into the ה line (p. 100), and he makes two attempts to turn the next into the ז line (Z. K. T. זאת; V. O. J. זכר). It was to be expected rather that Sir. li., like Prov. xxxi., would give them a verse each. Note that Gr. *προκοπὴ δέ* would easily lose the δέ (Heb. ו) before *ἐγένετο*.

l. ז] This is l. 5 in 𝔖. After it see another textual catastrophe to be accounted for by assimilation. The ending ולא אהפך of l. ז having become ולא אהפך by assimilation to l. כ *b*, this clause has been moved three lines upwards in 𝔖; and other dislocations have taken place here as shewn by the verse numbers in 𝔖. The line זממתי כו having been shortened through homoeoteleuton or otherwise, 𝔖 כי אמצאנו was added to lengthen it again; or this may be a variant for כי אמצאנה. In either case the two words are no doubt spurious.

l. ח] The hemistich *b* (p. 107 f.) has been thrust out by ופני לא אהפך ממנה in 𝔖. With 𝔊 *διηκριβασάμην* compare the *ἀκρίβεια* in the Law spoken of in Acts xxii. 3. xxvi. 5; Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8. 14, *Ant.* xvii. 2. 4.

l. ט] Granted only that the ט word has disappeared from 𝔖, there is no difficulty in finding traces of all the other letters of the 'Alphabet' in 𝔊 and 𝔖.

l. י] Similarity in different expressions has occasioned loss and confusion in ll. י, ט. 'My hands' and 'My hand' have been very naturally taken for variant renderings of ידי at the beginning of l. י, but I think that the former belongs to l. ט. Fortunately 𝔊 *τὰς χεῖράς μου* (כפי) preserves the one and 𝔖 ידי the other. When his hand had opened the gates of Wisdom he would look and see her at once. But how exactly was this expressed? The words next before and after ואביט are not clear in the MS.

(1) First Dr Schechter wrote (*Camb. B. S.* p. 67),

> "..ולא אח] The signs left of which the top is lost are too small to permit of אחדור (cf. the Syr.). Of course אחוז may be a corruption of the word suggested. [ואׄ ב[תוכה]. Cf. Syr. and below, *v.* 21."

In his text אחוז was printed with ז marked as doubtful. Schlögl conjectured ובה אֹחֵז. Mr Cowley examined the MS. and wrote, "For אחוז read אהדר" (J. Q. R. xii. 111, Oct. 1899). Bickell has nothing to say on the word. Making up his י line from the Greek he writes in V. O. J.,

ידי פרשתי למעלה וּשְׁגַאתַי הֲבִינֹתִי :

For his Z. K. T. rendering see *Camb. B. S.* p. lxxvi. Lévi, "Peut-être doit on traduire par 'mendier,' qu'on lise אהדר ou

אחזר." Peters, "Und ich *war um* (אחזר) sie und schaute auf sie." In *Camb. B. S.* I conjectured as an alternative, "אחור from חור, Syr. ܚܙ, *vidit.*" On seeing the MS. I read אחז as Strack also has done. Job's ולא אחז apparently suggested ולה אחז. In the paper of the MS. there is a rent across the top of the word, and what remains of it is blurred. After the *alef* I find parts of three downstrokes. Assign two of these strokes, which are not quite equal (cf. ver. 29 תשמח), to a *cheth*, and there remains one which must belong to a letter having 'length without breadth,' sc. ו or ז. There is not the lateral space to spare for a broader letter as ד or ר, not to speak of both together as in אהדר or אחדר. These readings rest more upon Syr. אתחדרת than upon the MS.

(2) Instead of בתוכה I proposed to read either בה, suggested by Syr.; or בְּטָהֳרָה, if there was room for the five letters (*Camb. B. S.*). There may have been room enough, but I think that 𝔖 read in this line and the next,

ואביט בה | ובטהרה מצאתיה.

The end of l. י is torn away. After 𝔖 ואביט ב there is only a minute remnant of a letter, which of itself tells us nothing; but in its position near the top of the ב it suits few letters of the alphabet, and none better than ה written with a projection to the right, as in אהפך two lines above. I conclude therefore that 𝔖 read בה; but I stand by the conjecture that ואביט בטהרה, which accounts for Gr. and Lat. (p. 109), may have been the original reading.

With reference to the clause *καὶ τὰ ἀγνοήματα αὐτῆς ἐπένθησα* Mr J. H. A. Hart writes, "The Greek and Latin MSS. of li. 19 present some interesting variations; although the Acrostic formed no part of the second Greek version which is cited under the name of Solomon and has intruded into some of the MSS. of the version of the younger ben Sira. For *ἐπένθησα* the Codex Venetus (23), with its ally 253, the allies of the primitive Latin (elsewhere) 106, 248 and 55, 254 the common followers of A, gives *ἐπενόησα*—a variation necessarily belonging to the uncial stage of transmission—O for Θ. The Latin MSS. quoted by Sabatier follow the standard Greek text or attempt to improve upon it. The Vulgate, which is also the Old Latin,

version has...*insipientiam eius luxi* = *τὴν ἄγνοιαν αὐτῆς ἐπέν-θησα*: Cod. Sangermanensis *in sapientia* (out of *insipientiā*) *eius luxit anima mea* (from 20 init.): Cod. Corbiensis *et in sapientia eius luxi* with marginal alternative (same hand) *ignorantias* (*τὰ ἀγνοήματα*) *meas illuminavit* (out of *luxi* by reference to *lux* = *lumen*)."

l. כ] To this line in 𝔊 belong the clauses 1—3 of ver. 20 (p. 110),

נפשי כו׳ | ופני כו׳ | ולנצח נצחים לא אט...

For readings of the last word see p. 120. In the MS. traces of the tops of three letters follow אט without a break, so that the five together seem to belong to one word. Cowley in J. Q. R. xii. 111 אטרדה, which Lévi renders as if it were אטרדנה (p. 120). The scribe of 𝔊 may or may not have finished up the line correctly. (1) The top of the third letter has a curve on the right which defines it as one of a group, say ר. Allowing that the next may possibly have been ד I would suggest that the third was perhaps נ, and that after it stood a ה now torn away. Thus we get אטרדנה, cf. Sir. xxxii. 9 לטרד. (2) The curve in the third letter goes against אטה ממנה; but אט ממנה (p. 110) gives the same sense, and a scribe may have run the two words together. Note that אט and אחז (p. 109 f.) come within two verses of one another in Job.

l. ל] Running the clause *b* on to l. י we get the sequence,

ואביט בטהרה | ובטהרה מצאתיה.

Compare 𝔊, where the end of the י line is torn away; ⲥ ⲁⲃⲃⲁⲕⲟⲩⲙ | ⲙⲁ, with no stop between; W. ver. 27, 'Perlustravi eam, et intellexi illam, et in puritate inveni illam.' The two words בטהרה, בטהרה having been mistaken for one and the same, the reading of 𝔊 ואביט בה כו׳ and its counterpart in Syr. arose. Thus again similarity in different words has brought about corruption and dislocation in 𝔊, and then in ⲥ.

The similarity of l. ל *a* נקיתי to (ה)קניתי in the next line accounts for its corruption into 𝔊 קניתי. After it I read לה with 𝔊 against 𝔊 and ⲥ (p. 120). Note בעבור כן *bis* in 𝔊 ll. מ, ל.

l. מ] The clause *a* was first read inadvertently,

מעי יהמו כתנור לה להביט בה.

The end of it in the MS. looks rather like לה ביטבה, but there is clearly no repetition of לה. Schlögl conjecturally, as clause *b*, להביט בה (להיטים. Strack להביט לה and so Lévi, with the remark, 'לה est peut-être une dittographie de להביט.' Peters מעי יהמו להביט בה. Reading כתנור לה I account for להביט בה as another corruption by assimilation in 𝔙 (p. 120).

l. נ] The word אהודנו may be from Ps. xxviii. 7.

l. ס] 𝔖 rightly *semkath* in the place of ס (p. 121). When it had once been suggested that Sir. li. 13—29 was alphabetic, the letters ת—ע, נ—ל, י, ח, א might have been found in or near their places without the help of the versions. 𝔊 determines ט, ה, ב—ד, and suggests כוננתי for נתתי in the כ line. Synonymous substitutions restore זממתי and סורו in the ז and ס lines. And lastly ו has to be inserted between ה and ז.

l. ע] Schlögl in clause *a* תחסרון מן חילו.

l. ר] This is one of the lines in which the metrical hypothesis that a hemistich should not exceed eight syllables was put to the test. Clause *a* as I read it is of a proper length, and the *ἅπ. λεγ.* קטנתי would naturally have become קטן הייתי in the course of oral teaching or quotation. Note that *ὀλίγος* (p. 113) is commonly opposed to *πολύς*, but sometimes to *μέγας*.

l. ש] 𝔙 למודי may or may not be a variant. With שמעו מוסרי cf. Prov. i., iv., xix. *hear* מוסר, viii. 10 מוסרי.

l. ת] With 𝔖 *de poenitentia mea* (p. 122) Peters compares his own לפני תעותי in ver. 13, but he does not adopt the reading. To a medieval retranslator it would have suggested Heb. בתשובתי.

3. *The Retranslation Hypothesis.*

a. Bickell on *Der hebr. Sirachtext ein Rückübersetzung* (p. 100) was under the necessity of stating his case less fully than he was prepared to do. To his argument from Sir. xii. 10, 11 I have replied elsewhere (J. Q. R. xv. 619 f.). The rest of the article is about Sir. li. 13—30. 𝔙, Gr., Syr. and a revised conjectural reconstruction of the Hebrew are followed by a concluding paragraph, of which the substance is given below with comments.

𝔙 'folgt hier überall sklavish dem syrischen...; nirgends zeigt sich eine Spur von Benutzung des griechischen Textes.'

But it is nothing against an even degenerate form of the original that it does not make use of a version.

That it is 𝔐 which depends on Syr., 'ergibt sich nicht nur daraus, dass mehrere im Syrischen noch erhaltene alphabetische Anfangsbuchstaben im Hebräischen fehlen, sondern auch aus falschen Uebersetzungen im Hebräischen, welche sich nur aus Missverständniss syrischer Wörter erklären lassen.'

Disagreeing as I do with Bickell about some of the less obvious initials (p. 100), I give less credit than he does to Syr. in that respect. For example, I think that the ח is located by 𝔐 חשקה (Syr. אתדבקת) and not by Syr. אתחשבת (Heb. זמימתי).

The argument from the supposed mistranslations of Syr. in 𝔐 is illustrated by a conjectural derivation of Syr. l. 3 *a* from its assumed original form וצלית כד זעור אדנא (p. 117), and it is said, with reference to this one case, '*Alle diese Irrungen*, die doch nur im Syrischen möglich waren..., macht der Genizatext getreulich mit.'

The paragraph ends with the allegation that the 'Doppelsinn' of Syr. זעור has misled the supposed retranslator in the ר and ש lines, so that he has written קטן by mistake for מעט, *ὀλίγον*, in the former, and רבים in the latter instead of 'much' in the former. For the former Bickell suggests,

ראו בעיניכם מעט עמלתי ואשכח לי רב מנוחה :

Seeing that Syr. 'and I found her much' will not stand as a hemistich, he patches it up from Gr. *καὶ εὗρον ἐμαυτῷ πολλὴν ἀνάπαυσιν*. The case against 𝔐 as stated is unconvincing, and there is also much to be said on the other side.

b. Lévi discusses the acrostic in Pt II. of his *L'Ecclésiastique* (pp. XXI. f., 225 f.). On the clause הטיתי כו he quotes Bickell with approval, but goes on to say (p. XXV.), "*On trouvera peut-être la démonstration un peu fragile, en raison des conjectures sur lesquelles elle s'appuie*; on n'en dira pas autant, croyons-nous, de la suivante, qui la corrobore." Then follows a discussion of the ר and ש lines, in which Syr. is again preferred to 𝔐. A decision of the question at issue once arrived at by generalisation from one or two particulars, further comparisons of 𝔐 and Syr. in the commentary bring us again to the foregone conclusion.

'H. = S.' now means that Syr. is the original of 𝔖. The Hebrew may be illegible, but '*En tout cas*, H. = S.' (p. 120).

c. Strack writes in a note on ver. 13, "Textus cantici alphabetici v. 13—30, si non ubique, multis certe locis versione Syriaca gubernatum est." This as it stands without explanation cannot be profitably discussed. I question the statement that 𝔖 ver. 28 רבים 'cum v. 27 jungendum est, cf. G. Syr.' He numbers 𝔖 l. 3 *a* as part of ver. 13.

4. *Summary.*

Three things have been attempted in this discussion of the 'Alphabet of Ben Sira,' namely, to find out the acrostic letters from *alef* to *tau*; to reconstruct Sir. li. 13—29 from 𝔖 and 𝔊; and to account for the imperfections of 𝔖.

a. The alphabeticism of Sir. *l.c.* was inferred from the Versions fifteen years before the discovery of 𝔖 in the Old Cairo *Genizah* (27th Aug. 1897). Within two years of its discovery 𝔖 was published in *Camb. B. S.* Bickell twice and others after him reconstructed the 'Alphabet' on the whole successfully, but failed to determine some of the letters correctly (p. 100). For the surmise that it was never complete there was not much to be said. It was likely that the author would imitate the אשת חיל acrostic in Prov. xxxi., and not likely that he would leave his own א״ב unfinished. 𝔊 of itself supplies all but enough material for the twenty-two lines, and corrects 𝔖 and 𝔖 where they are misleading. Thus 𝔊 ver. 18 *διενοήθην* two lines after *ἔκλινα* (הטיתי) must be for זממתי (Zech. viii.; Prov. xxxi.), not חשבתי (𝔖, 𝔖). 𝔖 and 𝔊 then supply the letters י, ט, ח (ver. 19), and the rest are easily located. The resulting orderly correspondence of the 'Alphabet' with 𝔊 (p. 96 f.) witnesses at once to the simplicity of the proposed solution, and to the comparative accuracy of 𝔊.

b. The text of 'The Acrostic according to Section A' (p. 123 f.) rests largely upon the Greek, which supplies materials for all the first hemistichs in their right order, except l. י *a* which 𝔖 supplies. 𝔊 ver. 19 *b* suggests ובעבודתה הצנעתי for the true ending of l. ח. In its place 𝔖 gives the clause l. כ *b*, which 𝔊 omits. In ver. 26—28 𝔊 is inferior to 𝔖. 𝔖 does not seem to me to suggest any improvement in the text as

made up from 𝔊 and 𝔐, and it fails to suggest some good readings found in or derivable from 𝔐.

c. The degeneration of the original Hebrew into 𝔐 is simply accounted for as the direct outcome of internal corruption. (1) Most remarkable in 𝔐 are its omissions and dislocations in places where there is or has been similarity or accidental assimilation of letters or words. In 𝔐 ver. 13—15 l. ד has been made to look like the ב line; ll. ג, ב have disappeared; and l. 3*a* is l. א *b* out of place. The transformation of אחפר (l. ז *b*) into אהפך (l. כ *b*) has occasioned further disorder and loss. Misidentification of בטהרה (l. י *b*) with בטהרה (l. ל *b*), and of 'my hands' (כפי) in l. ט *a* with 'My hand' (ידי) in l. י *a*, has had disastrous effects in 𝔊 and 𝔐. In the ל line נקיתי לה has been corrupted by assimilation to קניתיה in l. מ. A simple לה in l. מ *a* has been read as an abbreviation of להביט בה, by assimilation to 𝔐 l. 8 *b* ואביט בה. In 𝔐 ll. 9, 10 see בעבור כן, בעבור כן, probably the one from the other and both wrong. (2) Catechesis and oral quotation give rise to accidental or explanatory synonymous substitutions, simple and common expressions displacing such as are less familiar. Thus זמיתי has been altered to חשבתי (ver. 18); סורו to פנו (ver. 23); קטנתי to קטן הייתי (ver. 27). (3) 𝔐 ver. 17 עלה, *her yoke*, might of course be a translation from Syr. נירה, but how would Gr. *προκοπή* then be accounted for? Read ותועלה, whence 𝔐 עלה with Syr. as a rendering of it, and Gr. *προκοπη* (*δέ*) is also explained. In ver. 19 Syr. seems to have misread 𝔐 אחז as אחזר. In l. ע the conjectural לחם easily becomes מלה, whence ניאלה and then 𝔐 מן אילו ואילו. In ver. 29*a* a translator from 𝔖 would have written תשמח נפשכם בתשובתי.

In *Camb. B. S.* p. LXXXVI. I wrote, with reference to Bickell's 'ganz evidente Emendation' of 'die absurde jetzige Lesart *und ich betete sein Gebet als ich klein war*,' viz. in 𝔖 l. 3*a*, "With this explanation of 𝔖, *the Hebrew here* [= 𝔖 *minus* '*sein*'] *would seem to have been derived from the Syriac.* But the conjecture is open to criticism, and does not end so well as it begins."

The writer's statement that he prayed a prayer for Wisdom in his youth is no 'absurde Lesart' but an essential element of the true text, which would have been recollected as of greater importance than הטיתי כו׳, *I inclined my ear* to secular instruction. It is in effect l. א *b* put in place of l. ה *a*. In *Camb. B. S.* I was of necessity writing quickly. Further study of 𝔓 has now brought out much positive evidence for its independence of 𝔖, and seemingly none to the contrary.

Be this as it may, my principal endeavour from the first has been if possible to shew that the Sirach 'Alphabet' was once complete and to complete it again.

C. TAYLOR.

CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS IN THE SILVAE OF STATIUS.

It is a thousand pities that when the MS. of the Silvae came into Poggio's hands, he did not either copy it out himself, or at any rate revise his scribe's work at once with the original before him. Well might he stigmatise the writer as *ignorantissimus omnium viventium*, if the copy made on the spot and sent to Francesco Barbaro, with reference to which Poggio himself uses the words *divinare oportet, non legere*, is indeed, as Dr Klotz maintains, the Codex Matritensis: for, after all the labour that has been expended on it, there still remain many passages which Poggio at a glance might then have corrected, but in which only by a happy guess, founded on the most minute attention to the *ductus litterarum*, can we hope now to arrive at the truth. With a few of the problems arising out of such passages the following notes attempt to deal. For the readings of M, I am indebted to Klotz's *Apparatus Criticus* and to his preface for Politian's excerpts (A*) from the Vetus.

The great merit of the scribe of the Matritensis is that, though ignorant, he was honest, and copied as nearly as he could what he seemed to himself to see in his excellent but apparently very difficult original. By so doing he constantly made havoc of[1] proper names, but in such a way that traces of the truth remain. Thus at IV. 2. 26 sqq. he wrote

> Aemulus illic
> Mons Libys Iliacusque nitet, †multa Syene
> Et Chios et glaucae certantia Doridi saxa.

[1] Cf. Klotz's note on I. 4. 90.

Almost without exception editors assume that a word has dropped out, and fill the supposed lacuna by adding *hic, stat, nec, tum,* or the like. The most attractive supplementum is *et* (Domitius); but nowhere else does Statius permit himself the license involved. In the whole of the Thebaid I have noted only two seeming instances, I. 403 and VI. 351; and in the latter of these we ought probably to write er*a*nt: while in the former, as Mr Garrod points out, the *e* of éadem has almost the force of a consonant, and this fact justifies the lengthening of the preceding syllable (agīt)[1].

Now in M, as in all other similar MSS., the letters *m* and *ni* are of course repeatedly confused, and so, on occasion, are *e* and *t*[2]. The original had, I take it, "nilea Syene," and the scribe, reading this as mlta, wrote m*u*lta Syene[3]. Mediaeval scribes were not so familiar with the connection between Syene —the modern Assuan—and the Nile, as was Martial, who writes (I. 86. 7)

Qui nunc *Niliacam* regit Syenen,

or as Sir John Aird's achievement has made us. Klotz[4] has pointed out how frequent are Greek words in Statius, or the Latinized form of Νειλαῖος might provoke suspicion. But Statius was half a Greek. Read therefore

Mons Libys Iliacusque nitet, *Nilaea* Syene
Et Chios etc.,

and cf. at II. 2. 86, *Eoa* Syene.

Such *place-epithets,* if they may be so called, abound in the Silvae, cf. (e.g.) I. 3. 33, "Bruttia Sicanium circumspicit ora Pelorum." At I. 2. 203 sqq. M reads

[1] The case of (e.g.) subit, or subiit before a vowel is of course another matter.

[2] Cf. Phillimore ad IV. 3. 81, "servitusque A* (*Pol. primo* struitusque *deinde* servitusque legit)."

[3] Or the error may be one of transposition, with confusion of *a* and *u*, just as at II. 6. 92, the scribe of F writes *vlu*lavit for *val*lavit.

In the absence of evidence that *multare* may mean to mulct, to *lay under contribution,* it is hazardous to resort to the tempting conjecture

Mons Libys Iliacusque nitet. Multa
<ta> Syene
Et Chios etc.

[4] *Curae Statianae,* p. 53.

Prendisti portus. †Nitiade sic transfuga Pisae
Amnis in externos longe flammatus amores
Flumina demerso trahit intemerata canali.
(nitidę A*, *teste Klotz*, p. liv.)

Can *nitiade* really be a blunder for *nitidae*? It seems incredible. Rather the scribe here also was faithfully copying the, to him, strange word Heliade, i.e. Eliade[1], a corruption of the Virgilian *Eliados*, a place-epithet of Pisa. In M the letters *h* and *n*, *i* and *e*, *s* final and *m* final are repeatedly, and the letters *l* and *t* occasionally, confused. Thinking of the Alpheus as the *Elidis amnis* (I. 3. 68), the *Flumen Eleum* of the Metamorphoses of Ovid (V. 576), Statius wrote

Prendisti portu*m*, *Eliados* sic transfuga Pisae
Amnis in *externos* etc.,

and, but for the faithful witness of M, all trace of this would have vanished, because of the chance-correspondence between nitidus and λιπαρός, which has blinded editors to the true significance of this strange phenomenon--nitiade.

The rhythm, common enough in Virgil[2], though rare in Statius, finds an exact parallel in III. 4. 32, and in IV. 4. 100

Nosse ratis, nondum Ioniis credenda periclis.

Are there other proper names lurking beneath some of the strange corruptions that still deface the text? Thus at IV. 4. 66

Sunt membra accommoda bellis,
Quique gravem †tarde subeant thoraca lacerti,

the word *tarde*, of which no satisfactory account has yet been given, may quite conceivably conceal *Aeacidae*. A reference to Juvenal (XI. 31) indicates that the breastplate of Achilles, like the bow of Odysseus, was used proverbially of a piece of armour that only the bravest of the brave could bear:

Nec enim loricam poscit Achillis
Thersites, in qua se traducebat Ulixes.

Here, in the phrase "limbs that might fill and bear the heavy

[1] Cf. Helisia, II. 3. 74.

[2] Cf. *C. R.* XVIII. 289 b.

armour of Aeacides," we should have an apt compliment to Marcellus. It hints a comparison with Patroclus and his ἀριστεία in the Iliad. Dr Housman (Manilius, p. lix.) in illustration of this type of errŏr, quotes from the Metamorphoses of Ovid (xv. 804) the very similar blunder *tandem* for Aeneaden. Here the *e* of *eacide* fell out after *grauē* and caide became carde, and so tarde. Statius' mind was so soaked with Virgil that the line

Saevus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector (Aeneid i. 99)

may have suggested both the phrase and the rhythm[1].

In this connection it may, perhaps, be suggested that at iii. 4. 14 Illa,—which, with illum, referring to Ganymede in the next line, is surely intolerable,—has ousted Id*a*: that at iv. 2. 11 for the prosy Iliaca porrecta manu we should read Id*a*lia etc. (i.e. Ic*a*lia for Iliac*a*); cf. Marlowe's "Id*alia*n Ganymede": and that at v. 2. 117 armatum represents, not Martem, but Ad*r*astum. In v. 1. 110 cene may possibly be a "correction" of *s*cenae, which aspexere, in line 109, suggests[2], "you outdid the transports of the stage itself": but Statius is fastidious in matters of prosody, and the context suggests that a proper name is concealed. (The ductus litterarum forbids, I fear, the otherwise attractive *Romae*.)

Twice a proper name seems wrongly to have come in. In i. 6. 95, 97,

> Largi flumina quis canat Lyaei?
> Iam iam deficio †tuaque Baccho†
> In serum trahor ebrius soporem;

(where the tu*o*que Baccho of the deteriores can hardly be justified either by tuae Minervae of iv. 1. 22 or by such a phrase as multo fratre madentem in iii. 1. 41) it may be urged that tu*a* is significant, and suggests that the exemplar of M had something like tuaque b*uxo*. But for Lachmann's condemnation of the phrase ciere tubam (Lucretius iv. 544), which

[1] For the elision cf. (e.g.) Thebaid, i. 529, Inque vicem ignoscunt, and *Achilleid*, 10, Necte comas; neque enim Aonium nemus advena pulso.

[2] Cf. S. Paul's θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν... καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις, 1 Cor. iv. 9. Markland's *certe* and Burmann's *paene* do not seem quite worthy of Statius.

implies the impossibility of the similar phrase ciere buxum, "to sound the flute," one would feel confident that Statius wrote cit*aque* bu*xo*, the strains of the flute being the usual accompaniment of such revels. Failing that, citansque (vel rotansque) buxum, "waving a flute," would add a bacchanalian touch without going very far from the ductus litterarum. Baccho has come in from Lyaei in the line before, or citansque Bacchum might also be suggested[1].

Similarly at II. 3. 14

> Quirinalesque fuga suspensa per agros
> †Celica tecta† subit.

In the absence of any other example of an adjective Coelicus, Markland's Coelica tesca is not convincing. Statius may have written *Ad* carecta subit, in imitation of the line in the Eclogues (III. 20),

> Tu post carecta latebas.

Assume that the preposition was carelessly written, a scribe might very easily mistake it for celi and follow that up by dividing the rare word carecta, with the result that we have in M.

V. 3. 209.

> Me quoque vocales lucos† biotaque tempe
> Pulsantem etc. (biotaque *vel* luocaque M, luotaque A*).

Instead of Boeota (Baehrens) with its irritating suggestion of Boeotian stupidity, read rather here, as in Thebaid VI. 88,

> *um*brosaque tempe.

It is à priori very unlikely that Politian would have failed to decipher so simple a word as Boeota. The truth is that the Vetus read *brosa*que. Either the scribe had omitted the *ā* before the letter *b*, with which it is so frequently confused: or, here as elsewhere, the ink had faded and there remained only this *vox nihili*, which, blurred as it was, puzzled both the

[1] Or again *Baccho* may be a "metrical stopgap." Can Statius have written "Iam iam deficio tuaque ⏑ turba ⏑ In serum trahor ebrius soporem"? The Idaei ministri (34) might quite well be described as the turba Romani Iovis, just as the Loves call themselves the turba Veneris, sed *tua turba* sumus (I. 2. 70).

scholar and the ignorant and was read by the one as luotaque, by the other as biotaque. If the line in the Thebaid had not maintained its somewhat uncertain footing in the text, we might have acquiesced, with a shrug, in Baehrens' "valleys of dulness." As it is, there can be no reasonable doubt that umbrosa is what Statius wrote, with a reference may be to the Thessalian Tempe, Shelley's "*dark* Tempe": cf. Catullus LXIV. 285 sq. Viridantia Tempe, Tempe quae cingunt silvae super impendentes.

One of the commonest confusions in M is that between the vowels *a* and *u*, and the first letter in the line is occasionally dropped.

Now in IV. 9. 40, 41, in a list of Saturnalian presents, we find in M the lines

> Quantum nec dare cereos olentes,
> †cutellum tenuesve codicillos?

The deteriores of course "correct" this to cu*l*tellum. Why not to (*S*)cutell*a*m? Has not a present of a knife always been considered unlucky? And is not the scutella, a little dish, a much more appropriate gift here, as in Martial's Saturnalian epigrams the scutula? Lewis and Short mark the quantity of the *u* as short, on the strength of a passage from a Christian poet of the sixth century A.D.: but why, when Lucilius wrote scūta, should we not have a form scūtella, exactly parallel to ānellus from ānus, existing side by side with scŭtula from scŭtra?

There are other passages in which the loss or omission of the capital letter at the beginning of the line appears to have caused corruption. In III. 5. 60 it is just possible that the initial et is sound. Et nunc illa tenet, "*And yet* she realises." But it seems more than probable that tenet has come in from line 57, ousting tamen (tm̄n̄) after loss of the two letters *Fl* before et. Read (Fl)et nunc illa *tamen*, etc. and translate "And yet, in spite of all your love and affection (tamen), she sighs because she is still unwed."

At IV. 3. 159, I believe the obscure *sandes* of M to be a corruption of *rondes*, a relique of (F)rondes. Read

Et laudum cumulo beatus omni
Frondes belliger abnuesque currus,

i.e. "You will refuse the laurel and the car of triumph"; for *frondes* in the sense of *laurels* is not uncommon. It occurs for instance at v. 3. 144

Nusquam avia *frondes*
Abstulit, aut alium tetigit Victoria crinem,

and again at v. 3. 225. Here it enforces the idea of the formal triumph, which currus alone does not adequately express. According to Klotz (page lvi.) Politian read the first letter of the line as F in the Vetus.

Again at III. 2. 70 I suspect that *Fug*imus represents *Inc*imus, i.e. (L)inquimus, the word which Virgil and Statius regularly use in this sense, and in this position in the line: the present tense (why fūgimus?) which the sense demands.

At IV. 6. 43, in the suspiciously strange exclamation Ac spacium! it is conceivable that we have traces of (D)āc (i.e. Dant) spatium tam magna brevi mendacia formae, if mendacia can bear the meaning of *legends*, as in Ovid's veterum mendacia vatum. Translate "These great legends *lend bulk* to that tiny form." The pigmy seems to swell to a giant's stature, as we reflect on the stories which the artist's skill recalls to memory. Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses, III. 195, *Dat spatium* collo.

Similarly at II. 1. 205, unless Porsit is, as I firmly believe, a corruption of Forsit[1], it may well be a relique of Spondet, "promises him all the gifts Elysium can yield." Cf. IV. 4. 77,

Sibi Gloria felix
Educat et cunctas gaudet spondere curules.

And at IV. 3. 138,

Hic si flammiferos teneret axis
Undaret Libye, teperet Haemus

[1] In that case,—and surely the archaism is admissible,—not another letter need be changed. There will be a slight pause after *Forsit* which must be taken with the word *volucres*. The poet pictures Blaesus carrying both the child and the child's treasures in his arms. But see Phillimore on line 203. The rare *fortassis* occurs once only in Statius (Achilleid).

(ubi *Umbr*aret, Postgate) read perhaps (Fr)onderet Libye, i.e. "Libya would no longer be a treeless desert[1]." *S*udaret (cf. v. 1. 100) is palaeographically easier but impossible, I take it, without an ablative.

It may be that in the vexed line III. 5. 49,

Questa est Aegiale questa est Meliboea relinqui,
Et quam quam saevi fecerunt Maenada planctus,

something similar has happened. Statius may have written

(Questa) et quam saevi etc.,

in allusion to the well-known story of Ariadne[2]. The verb may have fallen out after Questa in the previous line; or the order may have been deranged,

Et questa quam, etc.,

and so (by assimilation) Et *quam* quam, etc., a corruption that would be helped by the resemblance that the letter *a* bore in the original to the letters *es*.

Unless indeed at II. 7. 90 Stevens is right in retaining the festa of L and M, or unless that word is a corruption of *pen*sa, i.e. *threads* of destiny, cf. Martial, IX. 76. 6, 7,

Invidit de tribus una Soror
Et festinatis incidit stamina pensis,

and IX. 17. 2,

Parcarum exoras pensa brevesque colos,

and similarly Juvenal (XII. 65) and Seneca (Apoc. § 4).

In the Alcaic ode (IV. 5) lines 15, 16, M offers the following description of a glass of wine:

exemptusque testa
†Quo modo †fer verat Lyaeus.

In the deteriores line 16 becomes

Qua modo fer*bu*erat Lyaeus!

[1] Since this was written, I have seen that *fronderet* is proposed by Prof. Phillimore also. But as my conjecture was already in type, I let it stand.

[2] Cf. e.g. III. 3. 188, and V. 3. 266, where the poet assumes that his hearers will take the allusion to Aeneas without the name being expressly mentioned.

and this the editors accept. But several times in M *s* and *f* are confused, and there are traces of the spelling *quoi* for *cui* in the archetype[1]. Eximere has in Latin of all periods the special signification of "to release from slavery"; read (with a play upon the meaning of Lyaeus)

exemptusque testa
Quoi (i.e. Cui) modo servierat Lyaeus,

"Lyaeus set at liberty from the jar to which he was but now a slave." This seems better than the pentametrical

Cui modo servus erat;

although that would be nearer than the dubious vulgate to the MS. and to the truth.

The last line of the sixth stanza has always been a *locus vexatus.*

Hic mea carmina
Regina bellorum virago
Caesareo *peramavit* auro.
(reparavit, *Cruceus, probante Phillimore.*)

It has been urged by Unger in 1868, and more recently by Professor Ellis, that *peramavit* is an error for *ter amavit,* with a reference to the three victories achieved by Statius at the Alban games; but if so, *ter amavit* is itself a corruption, and not of *ter amavit,* as Unger had the hardihood to suggest, but of *cumu*lavit.

At III. 5. 28 Politian rightly emended the *ter* of his MSS. to *tu.* Similarly here, *cu* became *ter,* and -mulavit (or -umlavit) was read as amavit. Certainly *cumulavit,* "*crowned* my song," gave it its highest and greatest distinction, is quite in the manner of Statius: cf. the use of cumulus in IV. 3. 158, laudum *cumulo* beatus omni. Baehrens' redimivit[2] is not easier palaeographically and does not pay so fine a compliment to Domitian as is yielded by

Hic mea carmina
Regina bellorum virago
Caesareo *cumulavit* auro.

[1] Cf. *C. R.* XVI. 445 b on *quoi* in Ovid's text.

[2] The form does not occur elsewhere.

Klotz seems sometimes inclined to carry too far Madvig's dangerous dictum: "Facile intellego permulta sibi Statium permisisse, quae apud alios incredibilia videantur." Thus in II. 1. 67 he retains a reading which in the new Corpus is rightly obelised.

Statius is attempting to console his friend Melior for the loss of a favourite slave, almost an adopted son, a boy of twelve or thirteen. He paints a vivid picture of the past and the present; lines 56—66 in a series of highly rhetorical questions remind Melior that the boy had been with him always and everywhere in his home-life, waking him in the morning, sharing his meals, seeing him off when he left the house and meeting him on the threshold at his return; then follows the contrast between present and past, and this is how it is expressed, as the passage stands:

> Muta domus, †fateor, desolatique penates,
> Et situs in thalamis et maesta silentia mensis.

"Inepta et nullius sensus vox ista[1] *fateor*," writes Markland, "Si enim domus muta est, et desolati penates, quaero a te, Stati, quid ad rem est, sive tu hoc fatearis sive non fatearis?" Yes, but then he emends to the almost equally inept *pariter*. Now M often divides words amiss, as for instance at v. 2. 88, where it has *die saevo* for *dies aevo*: it confuses the letter *o* with the letter *u*, (so, e.g. *s*umnus for somnus,) *i* with *e*, *t* with *f*, and occasionally writes common and familiar words which chance to "scan and construe" for something rare and unfamiliar, as (e.g.) Arabes Phariique *palam est vidique* liquores for *Palaestinique* at the 161st line of this Silva. Bearing these points in mind I submit that Statius wrote:

> Mota domu statio desolatique penates,

"*The sentinel* is gone from your home, and the house is left desolate." The child is compared to a soldier at the gate. Statius leads up to the point with the words *abitusque morabitur* (63) and *obvius intranti* (65). It is a very effective climax,

[1] For fateor naturally and effectively used, cf. Achill. I. 775 and Silvae II. 4. 39. Nowhere in Statius does it appear to occur as a mere mannerism.

and if a parallel be asked for the use of statio, a reference to the Thebaid (VII. 47) discovers the word, in the same position in the line, in apposition, primarily at any rate, to the singular, Impetus:

> Digna loco *statio* primis salit Impetus amens
> E foribus, caecumque Nefas, etc.

In our passage we might write Mota domo statio, but M's mistake would more easily occur if the scribe had before him the rarer dom*u* followed by an *s*, and this form is recognised by Quintilian (I. 6. 51).

In line 64, atque ipsos revocabit ad oscula postes, it may be urged that the meaningless *postes* is a corruption of *fasces*[1], a half-playful touch meant to relieve, as does statio, the pathos of the situation. Statius, as I understand the passage, reminds Melior how in other days the boy would sometimes call him back for a caress, even when he was setting out in state with the lictors before him, bearing the fasces to which the Silvae repeatedly refer, cf. e.g. I. 2. 233, cuncti ueniunt ad limina *fasces*. "Magistratus praecedebant lictores cum fascibus." (T.S. ad loc.)

At V. 3. 92 sqq. Statius is enumerating the different classes of brother poets, who must lament his father's death. First come the writers of epic and lyric poetry: they are thus described:—

> Quis labor Aonios seno pede ducere campos[2]
> Et quibus Arcadia carmen testudine mensis
> †Cydalibem nomenque fuit.

Of the first line the simplest correction appears to be that of an anonymous friend of Gronovius, *cludere*[3] campos, i.e. "those whose task it is to write in epic verse the story of *the plains of Thebes*," i.e. to write Thebaids: cf. Martial, XIV. 1. 11. But it is with the following line that I wish to deal. Grono-

[1] So Juvenal, VIII. 23, Praecedant *ipsas* illi te consule *virgas*. The corruption seems to be confined to the one word *postes*, or we might conjecture that ipsos had come in from a confusion of *fo'is* with *ipos* in the MS. and read,—atque *foris* r. *ut* oscula *praestes*.

[2] *an* gyros,—i.e. guros for cāpos?

[3] Cf. Horace, S. II. 1. 28, I. 10. 59 with Silvae IV. 4. 11, verba inclusa modis.

vius himself emended the mysterious word *Cydalibem* to *Cura lyrae*, which Klotz and Postgate, of the most recent editors, accept. But why should two such ordinary words suffer so strange a metamorphosis? There is another possible explanation, which, while accounting for every letter of the corruption, appears also to yield better Latin and better sense.

Read :—*Idem animus* nomenque fuit, i.e. "and those, the masters of the Arcadian lyre, who in heart and in name, my father, were one with thee." For rhythm and phrase cf. Thebaid x. 362, Idem animus misero (animus P, ardor ω), and for the same use of the word in the Silvae, cf. i. 3. 101,

Seu tibi Pindaricis *animus* contendere plectris,

and i. 2. 58

Ipsi *animus* nondum nec cordi fixa voluntas.

By *nomen* idem we are meant to understand nomen *poetae*, just as by *animus* idem we understand animus *poetae*. From line 92 it is sufficiently clear that the immediate reference is to lyric poetry.

The words *Idem animus* were corrupted (first may be into *Idem alius*, a common mistake, and then) into *Idalius*. But either the scribe or the corrector, seeing the blunder involved in *Idalius*, wrote in the margin or between the lines the termination *-em* and added the letter *c*, i.e. *corrige*. This note the next copyist, the *ignorantissimus omnium viventium*, saw, but misunderstood: prefixed the letter *c* to the word already in the text, and "corrected" the termination, hence Cidaliuem, i.e. Cydalibem. If this explanation left a single stroke unaccounted for, it might be dismissed as over-ingenious. But, if ever there was a word which bore the appearance of having been carefully transliterated, like some mysterious Abracadabra, by a scribe who did not understand what he was copying but copied full faithfully, stroke for stroke, it is this.

In ii. 3. 38 I seem again to find traces of the corrector. The Naiad Pholoe, pursued by Pan, has escaped for the moment and taken refuge by the lake-side, in seeming security. Pan, however, discovers her retreat and is on the point of seizing her, when she is roused with a blunt arrow

by her protectress Diana[1]. At sight of her hated suitor she plunges into the water, *her own pool*, and escapes. Pan cannot follow her: he stands on the bank

omnia questus,
Immitem *Bromium*, stagna invida et invida tela.

But why should he appeal to Bromius? Or why call out on *Brimo* or on *Bormus*, as Scaliger and Ellis would have him? Surely the one person who is immitis is Pholoe? So Horace (C. I. 33. 2) inveighs against *Immitis* Glycera. And why stagna *invida*? Read

omnia questus,
Immitem *dominam*, stagna *invia* et invida tela.

The letters *b* and *d* are easily[2] confused, and what the scribe of the codex Poggianus had before him was an abbreviated form of *dominam* (dōiam) which, with a recollection maybe of II. 2. 4, he misread as bōium: then he or his corrector saw the error, underlined the letter *b* and wrote in the margin *d*. Again the scribe of M marked the note but misunderstood it, and seeking to heal one wound dealt another, by assimilating, not unnaturally, *invia* to the following *invida*. Yet only a few lines further (49) he might have seen Pholoe described as *domina*, the Lady of the pool, and invia adds points by summarising lines 36 and 37. Instead of a bit of misplaced erudition and a rather tiresome repetition we have then a simple, natural, effective line:—"bewailing all his ill-fortune, the cruelty of the lady of the lake, the wayless mere, the heartless shaft." This correction seems all the more probable inasmuch as the central idea, on which the whole poem has been constructed, is that the pool in Melior's grounds is haunted by a beneficent Naiad, of whose presence and history the tree is the symbol. *Dominam* stresses the point, or we might have understood the word to mean "mistress" or "fair."

[1] Read—in lines 29, 30—laevamque *supinae* (i.e. heedless) Naidos *adversa* etc.: and in line 53 infra, for the impossible animata, perhaps *mirata*. It is rather unkind to credit Markland, as recent editors have done, with a conjecture on which his own comment is:—"sed probe scio Statium non ita scripturum fuisse."

[2] Cf. Silvae I. 5. 15 and II. 1. 143 for interchange of *ad* and *ab*.

"Communi titulo puellae a decimo quarto anno *Dominae* appellabantur." (Thomas Stevens, on Silvae I. 2. 23.)

Adsint dum refero diem *beatum*
Laeti Caesaris *ebriamque* †parcen, I. 6. 7—8.

There is, it seems to me, a very simple and complete explanation of this *locus desperatissimus*, as Klotz describes it. The corruption originated in an interchange of terminations, such as Postgate assumes at IV. 7. 35, 36. Statius wrote

...diem beat*am*
Laeti Caesaris ebri*um*que Circum.

This was perverted by one scribe into

diem beat*um*
L. C. ebri*am*que Circum,

and by the next into

...ebriamque *Circen.*

The name of Circe was fresh in his thoughts from I. 3. 85 and a regrettably conscientious regard for grammar—to the neglect of sense—contributed to the blunder. In the *scriptura antiqua* (the script of P?) *ci* and *a* are practically indistinguishable, and the letter *p* was interpolated here as elsewhere in the Silvae (e.g. *P*lyadum for Hyadum, I. 3. 95), perhaps from the ligature connecting -que with Circen. Palaeographically, then, the history of the corruption is clear. As regards the sense, it will appear on an examination of the passage that the one word absolutely essential is a word to indicate *the scene* of the carnival, and anticipate the (otherwise) abrupt allusion to the *linea* in the next verse but one. A reference to Suetonius (De vita Domitiani, § 4) at once suggests the Circus (the rapidus Circus of Silvae, III. 5. 15):

Spectacula assidue magnifica et sumptuosa edidit non in amphitheatro modo, verum et *in Circo*...Nam venationes gladiatoresque et noctibus ad lychnuchos; nec virorum modo pugnas sed et feminarum.

Time and place are then duly specified, and the poem proceeds naturally to a description of the revel.

It may be added that of previous conjectures the two most attractive, Thomson's *noctem* and Bentley's *Romam*, are palaeographically impossible, although from the latter we may infer that Bentley felt the necessity of eliciting from parcen a word that would supply us with the scene of the carnival.

The following notes deal with a variety of miscellaneous points.

II. 3. 17, for the pointless *niveae* read *vivae*. A lakeside in a wilderness (tesca 14) would hardly be "lipped with marble"! and to translate "*now* lipped with marble" is to do violence to the language. *Vivae*—natural, not artificial, as in line 41, *vivamque* adgessit harenam—became first *nivae* and then *niveae*.

Similarly at I. 2. 23 we ought perhaps to write excipis et dominae *vivis* a vultibus obstas = "shelter your bride's glowing glances, *vivid* looks." It would be strange that niveis (M) should recur so soon after the niveos artus of line 20; for the expression (vivi vultus) cf. II. 1. 232.

II. 6. 42.

Qualis †bellis iam casside visu
Parthenopaeus erat.

Read perhaps (from Thebaid IX. 237) *demissa* casside. The picture suggested appears to be that developed at length in lines 699 sqq. of the Ninth Thebaid,

Ast ubi pugna
Cassis anhela calet, *resoluto vertice nudus*
Exoritur etc.

Demissa, at I. 2. 154, has caused similar trouble. There the word is corrupted into de*i*ssa and de*c*ussa, so that its distortion here need cause no surprise. But cf. *C. R.* XVI. 345 b.

V. 2. 118—120.

Gaetulo sic pulcher equo Troianaque quassans
Tela novercales *ibat venator* in agros
Ascanius, miseramque patri †*flagrabat* Elissam.

Nowhere else in Latin is flagrare used transitively, and therefore Heinsius emends to *flammabat* and Unger, on the authority

of Solinus, to *patre inflagrabat*. The occurrence of the singular error *flaca* for *D*aca at IV. 2. 66 suggests however that the words *patri flagrabat Elissam* are here a corruption of patri[1] <in>dagabat Elissam, i.e. "brought Elissa into his father's toils." This use of the verb, for which L. and S. quote no exact parallel, would be helped by the meaning of the substantive *indago*; and it will be remembered that throughout the Fourth Aeneid Virgil represents Dido as a hunted creature. So, at the close of her last appeal to Aeneas, she speaks of herself as *ensnared* (capta, line 330); and earlier in the book (line 84) Virgil had written

> Aut gremio Ascanium genitoris imagine *capta*
> Detinet.

Here too a less artificial writer might have said

> miseramque patri *capiebat* Elissam:

but, with *venator* just before, the more picturesque word is doubly effective. Only on metrical grounds does this conjecture seem open to suspicion, for the line looks so like a conscious reminiscence of Aeneid II. 674,

> parvumque patri tendebat Iulum,

that one would prefer a reading which should preserve that rhythm;—perhaps *placabat*, Dido being regarded as hostile to Aeneas, until *won over* by the beauty of his son, which in Virgil influences her passion. For this use of placabat cf. line 90 above, omnes vultu placare *novercas*: and V. 1. 259 sq. Reges *tibi* tristis Averni *Placat*.

The Silvae are full of echoes. One such appears to underlie the MS. reading in V. 1. 6,

> Meretur,
> Ut vel Apelleo vultus signata colore
> Phidiaca †vel vata manu reddare dolenti.

Read (for a word is required with which, not less than with signata, vultus may be joined. Otherwise *n*ata (M^2) or -ve *ren*ata

[1] The elision does not appear to be any harsher than those quoted from Statius by Lachmann in his note on Lucretius, III. 954. Add Thebaid VIII. 851, Ipsa diu inspectis, where however P reads diu positis.

might pass) Phidiacave *ornata* manu etc. and compare Propertius III. 9. 15,

Phidiacus signo *se* Iuppiter *ornat* eburno;

while at I. 3. 24

Litus utrumque domi, *nec te mitissimus* amnis Dividit

we ought probably to write

nec <*c*>*lemen*tissimus amnis,

an echo from the Metamorphoses of Ovid (IX. 116). The accusative *te*, as the passage stands, is incomprehensible. Vopiscus is not addressed till the end[1] of the poem and the object of *dividit* is *ea*, sc. litora, to be supplied from *Litus utrumque*: "Both banks are within the pale of home, unestranged by the kindly river." *Nec enim* mit. amnis is not easier palaeographically but is perhaps worth suggesting.

At I. 2. 134—6,

Quod nisi me longis placasset Iuno querelis,
Falsus hüic pennas et cornua sumeret aethrae
Rector, in hanc †vero cecidisset Iuppiter auro,

two possibilities are worth weighing. In a MS. in which the letters *n* and *u* (or *v*) are almost indistinguishable *vero* may have arisen from nr̄o, i.e. nostro, a word which would give a good sense here: cf. *nostra* myrto and *nostrae* columbae in Cupid's speech above. *Nostro* cecidisset Iuppiter auro would mean, "I would have made Iove visit her in a shower of gold." Venus would thus be associated with the wooing of Danaë by Statius as she is by Horace in his "Ni...Iuppiter *et Venus* risissent" (C. III. 16. 6). But there is force in Markland's argument that an epithet is required to balance falsus in the previous line: "quare *vero* auro cum *falsus* sit aethrae Rector? Immo potius *falso* auro." Such an epithet can be obtained, with a minimum of change (*a* for *er*, cf. *fata* for *festa*, in II. 7. 90), by reading *vano*[2], in its Virgilian sense of *false, deceitful*. So, in the Aeneid, *Vane* Ligus (XI. 715), for *False*

[1] In line 41 the words *tibi tota* are corrupt: Statius probably wrote Qua *sine voce* quies etc. *Sibi* tota, Postgate.

[2] Similarly at v. 2. 40, quae fuga *vana* ferocis etc. may be right.

Ligurian: *vanum* etiam mendacemque improba finget (II. 80), "a *cheat* and a liar" (Mackail) and

Ni frustra augurium *vani* docuere parentes (I. 392)

"except my parents were *pretenders*" (id.). If Markland's view of the passage is correct, there is, it seems to me, a strong probability that Statius,—with his notorious love of Virgilian diction,—wrote here:

in hanc *vano* cecidisset Iuppiter auro.

For the transference of the epithet from the god to the gold, cf. IV. 6. 77,

*periuro*que ense superbus Hannibal.

In two passages we seem to have echoes from the Thebaid, to which attention may here be drawn.

Sint quibus †explorent primos gravis arte molorchos:†
Quaeque secuturam religent post terga phaselon.
III. 2. 30, 31.

Maecius is sailing to Egypt, and Statius charges the Nereids to hurry to *the big ship* (*celsa ratis*, line 19), prepare it for the voyage and help it out of harbour. In lines 26—32 the various parts of the tackle are enumerated, sheets, sails, thwarts, rudder, anchor. Only in line 30 is there any difficulty. Now if Domitius was right in regarding *explorent* as a blunder for *exploret*, what we want to find first in the remainder of the line is, a subject for the verb, and *à priori* we should expect that subject to be the ship itself. I suspect that in gravis arte is concealed the rare word quatrieris and that Statius wrote

Sint quibus exploret *re*mos *q*uatrieris *iniquos*.

"Let there be some to help the big ship try its unwieldy oars." The passage must be interpreted by the light of Thebaid VI. 19—22,

Ceu primum ausurae trans alta ignota *biremes*...
Tranquillo prius arma lacu, clavumque *levesque*
Explorant remos etc.;

biremis there corresponds, I take it, to *quatrieris* here, and *leves* in that context to *iniquos* in this. The corruption arose

from the scribe's ignorance of the rare word, which, with a change of two letters only, he recast[1] as *gravis arte*. This involved the distortion of the epithet. Now *iniquos* is not unlike *mlchos*, and with the recollection of the name Molorchus fresh in his mind from III. 1. 29 he imagined a contraction and wrote *Molorchos*. The epithet *iniquos* well suggests the ponderous weight and varying size of a quadrireme's oars. Like vanus in the passage just discussed it is a Virgilianism. Cf. sub *iniquo* pondere rastri (G. I. 164) where Facciolati rightly renders the word "heavy," "unwieldy."

It would certainly be strange that in so full an enumeration of the ship's points there should be no mention of the oars, and that is in favour of *remos*, which is Krohn's conjecture. He, however, keeps *gravis arte* and accepts *molybdis* (preferring the form *molybdos*) from Salmasius. Scaliger's *artemo* is open to three objections: (1) the form (artemo for artemon) is only found in one passage of Lucilius; (2) the authorities state that the artemon or dolon was a very small sail, i.e. *levis* not *gravis*; and (3) it seems impossible to elicit from the fragment *lorchos* any satisfactory complement to the line. Professor Phillimore's *Coros* lets loose upon the ship two winds at once[2] (cf. line 28, vos *zephyris* aperite sinus; and 46, *soli zephyro* sit copia caeli), while *lembos* (Vollmer) and *barcas* (Klotz) present but few attractions. The antithesis, which my conjecture gives, between the great quadrireme and the tiny skiff (of line 31) following in its wake[3], is quite in the manner of Statius and recalls an image in the first book (4. 120)

[1] Cf. his *palam est vidique*, II. 1. 161: and such blunders as (e.g.) *seseque sui tui se credit* in the MSS. of Catullus LXIV. 55. In gravis arte I see a "correction" of queris atri, the shape which by transposition quatrieris might receive at the hands of a bewildered copyist.

[2] Cp. however Gellius, II. 22. 21 sqq.

[3] A contributory detail is that this reading clarifies the meaning of post terga in 31. We are told, too, that these big vessels "of the 6-fold, 7-fold, 8-fold type" (? and presumably also of the 4-fold type) "were all built by the *Ptolemies, or by those who had come into frequent connexion with them.*" *C. R.* XIX. 373 b sq. This ship is making the Egyptian voyage.

On the size, speed, and handling of a quadrireme Cicero's description of the Centuripina (In Verrem, II. 5. §§ 88, 89) is worth comparing. It presents in some points a remarkable parallel.

Immensae veluti connexa carinae
Cumba minor, cum saevit hiemps, pro parte furentes
Parva receptat aquas et eodem volvitur aestu.

Cf. also v. 1. 242—246.

At v. 3. 127,

*Grai*a refert Hyele, †*gra*vis qua puppe magister
Excidit etc.

gra*vis* may of course be a slip for gra*tus*, well-beloved, an *epitheton ornans*; but I suspect that it is rather an instance of the same kind of error that Prof. Phillimore postulates fourteen lines above at line 114, and again at IV. 5. 17, and at V. 1. 30, and that it has arisen from a repetition of the first syllable of the line, gra-, and the dropping of the final -dua before the following -qua. At any rate in the absence of any other satisfactory emendation, it is worth while considering whether Statius did not write

vidua[1] qua puppe magister
Excidit etc.

Cf. Thebaid X. 13, 14,

Ceu mare per tumidum *viduae moderantib*us alni,
Quas Deus et casus tempestatesque gubernant;

while the same book (182—185) yields yet another reminiscence of the fate of Palinurus, in which the epithet viduus again appears,—

Non secus amisso medium cum praeside puppis
Fregit iter, subit ad *vidui* moderamina clavi
Aut laterum custos, aut quem penes obvia ponto
Prora fuit.

In the Bodleian MS. (Klotz's F) I have noticed at I. 2. 98 the somewhat curious error *vectis* for *vatis*. It is generally, though not universally, believed that F is derived from M. If it was not: if we may assume that in the *Codex Poggianus* the letter *a* was so formed that the copyist was liable to

[1] This is, in effect, Ellis's *grauidus* shorn of its first syllable (gra-), for uidu*a*=uidus.

mistake it for *ec*, three passages in which it has been usual to assume a lacuna would admit of a simpler solution.

Thus in the Tiburtinum Vopisci, I. 3. 9 sq.

> Ipsa manu tenera *tecum* scripsisse Voluptas.
> *Tunc* Venus Idaliis unxit fastigia sucis etc.

read

> Ipsa manu tenera (*tan*tum scripsisse voluptas!)
> *Huic* Venus etc.

and translate—"Venus herself with dainty hands (it is a joy even to write the tale!) has anointed his house" etc. So in the Preface to Book V. Statius says: uxorem enim vivam ama*re voluptas est*: and in II. 1. 188 there is a similar infinitive, ne puero dura ascen*disse facultas*. A goddess Voluptas is hardly to be met with outside the De Natura Deorum, except in the dubious lines in the Thebaid, X. 100 sqq. and in Silius Italicus (XV. 18 sqq.), and Silius represents her as a very undesirable divinity. What she is doing in this galley it is not easy to see. The parenthesis is quite in the manner of Statius, and not more than ordinarily abrupt, cf. e.g. I. 2. 74.

At IV. 4. 101—3,

> Iamque vale, et penitus voti tibi vatis honorem
> Corde exire veta: nec enim Tirynthius almae
> Pectus amicitiae etc.

the much-emended Tirynthius seems sound enough[1]. It would appear from lines 8, 9 and 66 sqq. that Marcellus was a man who would both invite and appreciate the compliment of being compared to Hercules. I would read *Par*cus for Pectus, and understand the sense to be:—"Good-bye, and do not grudge me your friendship, for Hercules too, your prototype, was lavish of his love." Pectus came in from the influence of corde above, and remained, unsuspected, because pectus amicitiae happens to be a proverbial expression for true friendship. (Cf. e.g. Martial, IX. 14. 2.) But to assume a lacuna is a needlessly drastic measure. For the use of parcus, cf. Silius X. 30,

> Prima acies non parca fugae, etc.

[1] Bentley's *te certius* is the most attractive correction.

Last, and this suggestion I offer with some diffidence, at v. 2. 109 sq.

> Stupuere Patres temptamina tanta
> Conatusque tuos; †nec te reus ipse timebat.

In Silver Latin vates sometimes has the meaning 'oracle,' and here the word might conceivably be used of the defendant's counsel. *Vati* is palaeographically so easy that one is tempted to think it right. Vati reus ipse timebat, i.e. the natural order of things was reversed: instead of the advocate being anxious for his client, the client was anxious for the safety of his advocate, so daring was the defence. This use of the word vates might well perplex the scribe, and if the first syllable were once corrupted, as it easily might be, the lesser change, *ti* to *te*, would naturally and indeed inevitably follow. At I. 3. 24 (discussed above) there is a similar possibility[1]: but the explanation I have offered seems more likely to be the true one.

I. Praefatio, line 31, Nam Claudi Etrusci testimonium †domomum† est.

Read perhaps <in> promptu est. The preposition was lost after the termination of testimonium, and domomum arose from a dittography.

I. 1. 9, Nunc age Fama prior...miretur. Age with the *third* person is, if not unparalleled, at least so extremely rare that the correction mir*ator* seems essential. Cf. in the Thebaid, IV. 32–34, the similar apostrophe

> Nunc mihi, *Fama prior* mundique arcana Vetustas,
> *Pande* viros.

I. 1. 15, 16.

> Iuvat ora tueri
> *Mixta* notis belli.

Is this Latin? Or is m*ixta* a corruption of m*aesta* 'clouded with tokens of war'? Maesta and mista are confused in the MSS. of the Thebaid, at I. 379.

[1] i.e. Litus utrumque domi *vati*, etc.

I. 2. 8 sqq.,

> Divasque hortatur et ambit
> Alternum †futura pedem.

While admitting the attractions of Sandstroem's *furata*, I do not see how if it is accepted a construction is to be found for the words *hortatur et ambit*. Why should Elegy *exhort* the Muses? The picture recalls Ribbeck's view of Amata in the twelfth Aeneid (55): Ardentem generum *mo*nitura tenebat! But if she has a definite demand and petition, the phrase becomes natural enough. Below (line 254) we read *Ambissent laudare diem*. Why not here

> Divasque hortatur et ambit
> Alternum fu*lcire* pedem?

Elegy begs and entreats the Muses to heal her weakness and wishes to be thought one of their number.

In I. 2. 13,

> Ipsa toros et sacra parat †coetuque Latino
> Dissimulata deam *crinem* vultusque genasque
> Temperat,

for coetu read co*mp*tu, from Lucretius I. 87,

> infula virgineos circumdata comptus.

So at V. 5. 34 incompte is, in M corrupted into incomite.

I. 4. 60, 61 ought perhaps to be restored as follows:

> Respicit, *in tec*tis reside*ns* securus alumni,
> Progressusque *f*oras: Huc mecum, Epidauria proles,
> Huc! ait *invadens* etc. (residens, iam Baehrens).

The whole passage seems to be corrupt; precidem can hardly be a mere misspelling of pridem. For *invadens* cf. Aeneid IV. 265 continuo invadit.

At V. 3. 99, for leones read perhaps *severos*. The "jingle" of Domitius's *ten*uare...*ten*ores offends, and the expression itself, *heroi tenores*, is almost unparalleled. *Tenor* in this sense does not seem to occur except in Terentianus Maurus. I understand *heroos* to be a substantive, as in Martial (III. 20. 6),

> Lascivus elegis an severus herois,

and find here a similar antithesis between the *gaiety* of the elegiac and the martial tone of epic. The change is by no means so violent as at first sight it appears to be, for a scribe who perverts Trach*in*ia into *in*tracia (III. 5. 57) might quite possibly transform sever*os* into ser*oves*, a *vox nihili*, which would account,—more easily than tenores,—for the sen*ones* of Domitius' MSS., as well as for the *leones* of M. For the use of the epithet one may compare Horace's

severae musa tragoediae (C. II. 1. 9).

II. 7. 128. *Ac* M. The *ad* of the codex Laurentianus points surely to A*t*. Cf. Horace, Serm. I. 6. 87.

III. 5. 78. For *et* we ought maybe (as at I. 2. 180, Otto) to restore *haec*. In prose the order of words would be

Haec nostra Parthenope.

The *Tenuis* Parthenope of this passage suggests that the strange *iuvenem* of III. 1. 92 is a copyist's error for tenuem: read

Tune, inquit, *largitor opum*, qui mente *profusa*
Tecta Dicarchei pariter *tenuemque* replesti
Parthenopen etc.

At III. 1. 163,

Haec ego nascentes laetus bacchatus ad aras,

to escape the intolerable sibilation, we must surely either accept Markland's laetu*m* bacchatus, or, in view of the fondness for verbal nouns in -tor that Statius shows, write the line thus:

Haec ego nascentes laetus bacch*ator* ad aras,

comparing for the confusion of final *-us* and *-or* the well-known instance in Horace, Epp. I. 15. 37, and, for the rare word, rotator and reparator in Statius, in Martial motor.

At V. 2. 122 sqq., Aut quem de turribus altis
Arcadas Ogygio versantem in pulvere metas
Spectabant etc.,

it seems very doubtful whether the expression *versare metas* is possible Latin. If Statius has a battle-scene in mind, *coetus* is nearer to the MSS. than Markland's turmas; cf. Thebaid IX. 827, and IV. 305

Hos *belli coetus* iurataque pectora Marti
Milite vicinae nullo iuvere Mycenae.

But I suspect that he has forgotten for the moment that the *Ludi Archemori* could not be seen from the walls of Thebes, and is thinking of Parthenopaeus as a runner. Read, from Aeneid III. 429,

Arcadas Ogygio *lustra*ntem in pulvere metas.

V. 3. 114. Accepting at II. 3. 69 the attractive correction (apud Markland) sec*u*re for secrete, and at IV. 1. 46, where Vollmer's retention of the traditional reading with a curiously harsh punctuation has been recently endorsed, Markland's own correction, *Dux* magne for *rex*, magne, we may well read here Pylii *du*cis for the corrupt Pylii *gre*gis of M. Pylius dux, no less than Juvenal's rex Pylius (X. 246), is a perfectly natural description of Nestor and senis (Domitius) is *palaeographically* improbable.

V. 5. 1.

Me miserum! neque enim †verbis sollemnibus ulla†
Incipiam. (ultra. Barth).

In such a connection what are *verba sollemnia* if *me miserum* are not? The poem is an Epicedion in *puerum* suum, and at I. 3. 26 the letters *p* and *b* are confused. Read, perhaps, from Thebaid VI. 2 (sancire novo sollemnia busto),

neque enim *p*ueri sollemnia bus*to*
Incipiam.

If this use of sollemnia, —which might be supported from Horace also (insanire sollemnia Serm. II.), —is inadmissible here to express the "wonted prelude," we might understand sollemnia to mean funeral rites and conjecture *p*ueri sollemnibus *altum* etc., "Alas! I cry, for over a child's grave I will utter no lofty prelude": but this is less probable.

V. 5. 31. Nec *eburno* pollice chordas
Pulso, sed incertam digitis errantibus amens
Scindo chelyn. (pectine, *Unger, probante Postgate.*)

Fortasse: n*eque firmo* pollice etc., a natural antithesis to digitis errantibus. So in the first chapter of Sandra Belloni:

"They heard a harp accompaniment, the strings being faintly touched but *with firm fingers.*"

v. 5. 34. Iuvat inlaudabile carmen
Fundere, et incompte miserum *laudare* dolorem.

Nudare pro laudare, Markland. Read perhaps *fraudare*, i.e. "with artless strains to *beguile* my grief." Cf. Petronius § 100, line 16 (Büch.) Haéc infra fiduciam posui *fraudavique* animum dissidentem, "lulled my misgivings to rest."

One passage more: in v. 3. 61 sqq.,

Atque ibi (me) moresque tuos et facta canentem
Fors et magniloquo non posthabuisset Homero,
Tenderet et torvo pietas aequare Maroni,

torvo as an epithet of Virgil altogether fails to satisfy and yet the word seems sound: witness the vain efforts that have been made to emend it, the number of which might be swelled by *tenero*, "a sweet tender Virgil"; and *divo*, hardly bolder than Columella's *siderei* Maronis, and tempting in its way, both as representing the habitual attitude of Statius to his *magnus magister* and as yielding here what the passage requires, an effective climax. But both *tenero* and *divo* are open to obvious objections, as is also the theory that the words et torvo represent ęterno and that an *et* has been omitted at the end of the previous line. There is a simpler solution. Read

Fors et magniloquo non posthabuisse *Maroni*
Tenderet, et torvo pietas aequare*t Homero.*

Torvus applied to Homer is natural enough, and suggests, too, the traditional portraits; while there is hardly an epithet in the language more appropriate than magnilocus to the

"wielder of the *stateliest* measure
Ever moulded by the lips of man."

Editors of the Silvae deserve our sympathy, for Baehrens was not far wrong when he opened with the statement that in the whole field of Latin scholarship there is no harder task than that of producing an acceptable text of these difficult but fascinating poems. The manuscripts as they stand are so desperately corrupt; there are so many minutiae to sift and

assess; so much uncertainty as to what measure of obscurity Statius deliberately allowed himself[1], and to what depths of ineptitude he was, on occasion, capable of sinking, that we are forced willy-nilly to the melancholy conclusion that unless or until fresh manuscripts are forthcoming, no *final* edition can ever be produced.

It is easy to condemn, on the one hand, the radical audacity of Markland, on the other, the stolid conservatism of Dr Vollmer: but no one has yet succeeded in discovering the middle course between these two extremes. What Cruceus, in 1639, wrote on one line of the book (IV. 5. 22) might not unfairly be repeated as approximately true to-day with reference not to

[1] A good illustration of this difficulty occurs at the close of II. 1, where, in one of the simplest and finest passages in the whole of the Silvae, M reads, and Klotz, Postgate, Phillimore unquestioningly print:

insontes animas nec portitor arcet
Nec durae comes ille ferae. (dirae *S*.)

Commentators, no doubt with a shrug of the shoulders, explain that the fera is Cerberus and his companion Orthrus, Geryon's dog, and quote Silius, XIII. 845, a passage which does not help much, as Orthrus is there doing independent duty. Neither there nor elsewhere have we any hint of *two* watch-dogs at Hell-gate. Surely the words *comes ille* can only be a blunder for *prompsisse*? The converse error, *pro*mere for comere, occurs in F at II. 3. 71; comptu for coetu (M), in I. 2. 13, I take to be a certain correction; while at I. 2. 19, F actually reads *pel*lax for *cessat*. Misled by these resemblances; forgetting that in the Thebaid (I. 455) Statius has *arceo* in a precisely similar construction ("tecto caelum *prohibere* quis iste *Arcuit*"?); and that Virgil's "Laetique cavo se robore *promunt*" (*Aen.* II. 260) is sufficient warrant for so unusual an application of the word *promo*; puzzled, it may be, by the use of the perfect infinitive, although he had met it before, in the "Naidas *elicuisse* satis" of I. 5. 8, and although here it is required to balance *emissus*—the scribe divided the word *prompsisse* as he had divided others before and introduced this monster into the text as he was later to introduce his lions at v. 3. 99. The mistake would probably never have been made had not Statius added, as an afterthought, the words "cui... Glaucia," to avoid any ambiguity in the sudden apostrophe to the child, following so closely on the appeal to his master. The first draft ran

sed flectere libens. *Ades* huc *emissus*
ab atro
Limine—<nam> insontes animas
nec portitor arcet
Nec durae *prompsisse* ferae.

Nam was restored by Domitius and it certainly helps the sense. Translate:—"*Come hither*, boy, *in freedom* from that dark threshold. (I bid thee come) for stainless souls neither Charon nor the stern fiends forbid us *to have forth*." The correction is so obvious and so certain that it must have been made long since but for this prevailing belief that *nothing is too obscure for Statius*.

that passage alone, but to at least a hundred others: "In hoc loco qua emendando, qua explicando omnes sibi placent—et omnes omnibus displicent." Meanwhile, as Professor Phillimore insists, there is still legitimate scope for conjecture.

D. A. SLATER.

CARDIFF.

THE MSS. OF THE VERRINES.

THE criticism of the Verrines has been generally treated as dividing itself into three parts, that touching the sources of the Divinatio and the earlier books, that which has reference to Books II. and III. of the Second Actio, and finally that which concerns Books IV. and V. The new material which has come to light in the last few years seems to make some re-statement desirable, and evidence can now be adduced to show that it is possible to unify the criticism of the speeches as a whole, and to show that all existing MSS. belong to either of two originally complete recensions.

Till the emergence of the Cluni Codex (C)[1], now at Holkham, none of the MSS. could be considered as competing in authority with the Regius 7774 A (R) which contains in its present form the fourth and fifth books only. The Cluni Codex may be said, even in its now mutilated condition, to account for Books II. and III.; so that with it and R together criticism has for the later speeches a pretty sure basis on which to rest. But it has not been recognised hitherto that for the earlier books as well we have an equally stable foundation in a MS. which, although much later in date than R, can be shown to preserve substantially the same tradition along with a larger portion of the text than now survives in its more famous congener. This is Par. 7823, cited by Jordan in the Zürich edition as D, but hitherto only partially collated. This important MS. belongs to the early part of the XVth century. I have compared it

[1] v. Anecdota Oxoniensia, Part ix (1901), *Collations from the Codex Cluniacensis* s. *Holkhamicus*.

throughout, and may now proceed to give a short statement of the reasons which have induced me to assign it so high a rank.

That a version of the earlier Verrines existed in the ninth century of equal importance with that of the later parts as contained in C and R is evident—apart from other considerations—from the existing condition of the great Paris MS. In arguing that R must have originally contained *all* the Verrines[1], M. Émile Thomas has overlooked a fact which is as interesting as it is conclusive. On examining this codex at Paris I noticed at the foot of fol. 80 a mark the significance of which ought not to have escaped attention until now, especially as it may be found reproduced in Chatelain (pl. XXXI). The mark in question is Q XXXV. Counting back from the folio on which it occurs, I did not indeed find corresponding marks on the verso of the last page of each previous quaternion, but I noted the binder's mark on the recto of every succeeding first folio. The MS. is a composite one, and must originally have consisted of two volumes, the surviving parts of which are now bound in one. In the process of binding the quaternion marks have been excised, though the binder's sign remains to show where they came in. Taking then the thirty-fifth quaternion as our point of departure, we can count back to the twenty-sixth, which commences with the beginning of the fourth book. What was contained in the twenty-five quaternions that must have gone before? R is, as has been said, a composite codex consisting now of (1) In Verrem IV., V.; (2) De Inventione Libri duo; (3) Fragmenta de Rhetorica; and it accordingly might be held that in front of the last two books of the Verrines may have come some matter entirely different. But a careful comparison of each of the surviving quaternions with the corresponding pages of the Teubner text gives us a sure basis for an arithmetical calculation of a very simple character. It can be stated quite definitely that if the copyist of the Regius had been writing out the earlier books of the Verrines as well as IV. and V., he would have needed exactly twenty-five quaternions to include them all. The inference is irresistible; R originally

[1] Revue de Philologie 1885, p. 167.

contained the whole of the Verrines[1]. The problem now is how to recover the tradition which must have been embodied, probably in its purest form, in the lost portion of one of the most valuable and authoritative of extant Ciceronian MSS. I propose to do this by calling attention to the value of two Paris MSS. which belonged to the library of Claudius Puteanus (Claude Dupuy, 1545–1594)[2]. The former of the two is Par. 7775, of the thirteenth century. Unfortunately it is complete only for Books IV. and V., but here as well as in a surviving fragment of the earlier books it can be proved that this codex is directly reproduced in the other MS. to which reference has already been made—Par. 7823 (D). It is on this ground, accordingly, that I propose to place D at the head of the MSS. upon which we must rely for the constitution of the first part of the Verrines.

Too much importance cannot be attached to Par. 7775, which, by way of indicating its right to stand alongside of R, I shall cite as S. It confirms the tradition of R for Books IV. and V., but when we come to compare the two it will be shown that S is no mere copy of either the first or the second hand in R, but is more probably an independent version of the same original. I have already reported (*Class. Rev.* Vol. XVI. pp. 405–6) that of the earlier books two folios alone survive, the second of which ends with the words *de istius singu*; and the fact that the copyist has completed his page with these letters justifies the inference that—except on the very improbable hypothesis of an extraordinary coincidence by which he happened to end a page with what must have been the last words of the MS. from which he was copying—in S we have the original of the large family of MSS. which contain the earlier Verrines as far as *de istius singu*[*lari*], ii. 1 § 111: after which passage comes in

[1] Cf. Nohl praef. VI. A further proof that what was originally the second volume of the Regius is now found incorporated with the first may be seen in the fact that on folios 166, 175, and 184 of the codex as we have it now appear the quaternion marks Q VIII, Q VIIII, Q X.

[2] The two codd. under consideration cannot have been the two Puteani which Lambinus used, and which confirmed the extracts sent to him, for Books II. and III., from the *Fabricianus* (i.e. Cluni 498). In Parr. 7775 and 7823 Books II. and III. are wanting, and never formed part of either codex.

all the MSS. of this family a blank, followed immediately by Books IV. and V. This codex must have been in its present mutilated condition in the days of Puteanus himself, for over the first folio as we have it now he has written "ex tertio in Verrem libro." It is interesting to note that in both his MSS. Puteanus calls attention to the lacuna: S containing the note "plurima hic desunt," while D has at the same place "desunt plurima ex hac oratione in exr. 78"—the last numeral giving a reference probably to some other volume in his library.

In the group of MSS. at the head of which stand S and its copy D must be included all those on which editors have mainly relied for the constitution of the text of the earlier books of the Verrines, viz. the two codices at Wolfenbüttel (G_1, G_2), the Leidensis and those also which, though they cannot now be identified with certainty, we know to have been used by Lambinus and Stephanus. To these I propose to add two MSS. in the British Museum, Harl. 4105 (anno 1462), and Harl. 4852 (XVth century),—the latter of which contains a tradition which entitles it to rank as near to S and D as any other member of the family. Besides their general identity of constitution, all these codices possess one special feature in common, the great lacuna in Book V. §§ 162–171. The resemblances between some of them are so close that Zumpt (see p. xii of his preface) thought that D was actually the MS. which had been used by Stephanus—an erroneous opinion that was afterwards shared by Jordan[1]. In the same way some have sought to identify one of the MSS. used by Lambinus with R; and at first I thought that—failing R—S would probably respond to such tests as might be applied; but the indefinite methods of reporting prevalent at the time make it impossible to state with any certainty that either R or S is to be counted among the "vett. codd." on which the great editor relied, and which are cited in his notes as well as in the margin of the

[1] "Videtur non differre a Stephaniano," Zürich ed. p. 103. It is important to note that the improvements embodied in the edition of Stephanus came from a codex belonging to what I call the X family, of which S and D are now to be recognized as the leading members. The symbol used in the Zürich edition to denote the MS. used by Stephanus is s.

text of the 2nd edition. It may be convenient to designate the group of MSS. above referred to as X. They embody the tradition which would in all probability have been found in its purest form in the Regius (R) if that MS. had come down to us complete instead of containing Books IV. and V. only. Against X is to be set a family of MSS. which contains a quite different recension, and which we may call Y. At the head of this family stands Par. 7776, a MS. of the eleventh century which I have collated throughout for the purposes of my forthcoming edition in the Oxford Series, and which certainly deserves much more attention than has hitherto been given to it. A facsimile of one of its folios will be found in Chatelain (Planche XXXI). Hitherto it has been known to us, for the earlier books, from Zumpt, but I regret to say that so far as it has been collated at all, it was carelessly collated and is misreported in important places[1].

Alongside of Par. 7776 (p) I propose to class two MSS. which I shall call q and r, the former being Lag. 29 and the latter Harl. 2687, of which I have made an independent collation. These three members of the Y family contain the whole of the Verrine orations. To the testimony which they offer may be added that of Par. 4588 A, a thirteenth century MS. partly collated by Jordan[2].

The distinction between the X and Y families was laid down by Madvig in his *Epistola Critica ad Orellium* (1828), p. 7: "est autem codicum in libris Verrinis duplex familia, altera quam Gallicam dicere possimus, quia praecipui eius generis libri in Gallia reperti sunt, altera quam Italicam sive vulgarem: harum familiarum codices perpetuo discreti sunt."

[1] In the Zürich edition it is wrongly reported at ii. 1, § 71 (p. 166. 32 Müller), where it has *trib. mil.*, and again at ii. 1, § 73 (p. 167. 33) where it has *reperire neminem.* Thomas made a more extended use of this codex for the Divinatio and for Books IV. and V., but his work is very inaccurate, and in all the circumstances I found it advisable to recollate 7776 from beginning to end.

[2] Students of the Third Book of the Second Actio will be interested to learn that on finishing his task (in this MS. Books II. and III. follow Books IV. and V.) the copyist of 4588 A could not refrain from expressing himself in the language of the following note: *Explicit iste liber improbus atque piger.*

We shall see in the sequel that such a MS. as p (Par. 7776) has features that put it on a higher level than those XVth century MSS. which Madvig classes under the head of the *familia vulgaris*. But even his imperfect knowledge of the available materials enabled him to lay down rules by which later editors have purified the vulgar text. "Nam multis locis in ea quae nunc circumfertur lectione verborum ordinem turbatum esse, orationem librariorum additamentis et interpretamentis foedatam, pro vera et recta scriptura aliam faciliorem, magis vulgarem, minus elegantem et acrem suppositam cum sententiae etiam detrimento, nonnunquam ita ut sensus plane pervertatur, probari posse puto." So more recently Schwabe (*Philologus* XXX. 311) constantly refers to "die schlechten Handschriften," not knowing of the distinction that can be made between p and the dett. To the latter class belong "Palatini Gruteri et ipsius Gruteri cod. tum Oxoniensis ψ, Hydecoperanus, Francianus primus," and from these and such as these were taken all the early Italian editions. The main ground on which Madvig bases the claims of the Gallica familia to higher consideration than the MSS. used by the first editors is that it has no additamenta, and in doubtful places gives the more difficult reading: "Nam et, quod primum spectari debet, caret multis illis additamentis quae in altero codicum genere reperiuntur, et in ceteris lectionibus ea est ratio ut, ubi codices dissentiunt, in his ea quae propria et recta sed difficiliora aut a librariorum intelligentia remota sunt reperiantur, in alteris illis facilia saepe et non inepta sed e correctione et interpretatione nata saepe etiam perversa et a Tullii dicendi genere aut sententia aliena" (p. 9). Cp. p. 25, where he lays down the rule that when omissions occur in the X family of what is not essential to the text, the words omitted are to be regarded as 'additamenta': "eam esse codicum rationem ut quicquid in altera illa familia codicum desit quod abesse recte possit, id non in his casu excidisse sed in ceteris fraude additum esse iudicari debeat." Madvig's polemic is directed against the dett.; and his great achievement was to purify the vulgar text. But we shall see that part of the problem of the criticism of the Verrines is still to determine whether, in certain doubtful places, a given reading is an

accretion in the Y family or an omission in X. And the fact that, if we could go far enough back, we should be able to find the common archetype of both families may be illustrated from the very first pages of the speeches. In the eighth section of the Divinatio (Müller, p. 102. 26) the words *vim gravitatemque requirit iudiciorum* are omitted (ex homoeoteleuto) in D and the other members of the X family. In p, which I place at the head of the Y family, I find these words supplied above the line by the second hand. The inference is clear: the accidental omission was due to a copyist in the days before X and Y branched off into the separate families which we know now.

Before attempting any more detailed process of comparison between the two families, it will be advisable to consider the MSS. individually. And first in the X family Par. 7775 (S). Madvig already had a pretty correct idea of the importance of this codex for Books IV. and V., and also of its relation to the Regius. Speaking of R and S together he says (*Opuscula Academica*, p. 288, note): "nec mirum hos praeter ceteros etiam eiusdem familiae consentire ex uno proximo derivatos, non solum ex communi fonte distantiore nec per successionem." What Madvig failed to note was that the earlier part of S is just as important as the later. The two surviving folios of the first portion of this codex give in fact the key to the criticism of the earlier Verrines. The first of these begins at the 36th chapter of the first book of the Second Actio in the words *dolobellae occiso* (Müller, p. 174. 14): the last ends, as has been said, with *de istius singu(lari)* (p. 181. 24). Each folio has 43 lines to the page, and contains from 63 to 72 lines of Teubner text. I have carefully collated these four pages and have compared them with the version given in Par. 7823 (D), and I can affirm that the two agree *verbatim et litteratim*—down even to points of detail such as the division of words and sentences. The following places may be cited[1]:

174. 23 sodalis istius p: sodalicius SD and Harl. 4105 (which

[1] Reference is made throughout to the pages and lines as in Müller's text.

I shall call K)[1]; sodalitius G_2s Harl. 4852 (which I cite as Z); sodalius G_1, Par. 7822.

174. 27 facillime pSDKZ; facile qr, as in Servius ad Verg. Ecl. v. 36.

174. 30 ređit SD (for rediit).

174. 36 mallioli SD (for Malleoli).

175. 4 sescenta sint facta SDZ and Par. 7777; sescentas infacta p, corr. man. 2; sesc. facta sint G_3 (i.e. G_1, G_2, Ld). Here it should moreover be noticed that in the preceding line S and D agree also in giving the same symbol for HS, viz. ~~SS~~,—a symbol which recurs in both at 8 and 9 below and also at 184. 37.

175. 37 Myliadum SD (for Milyadum). Here p has in the margin "milia civitas est."

176. 3 quantum primum SD (for quam tum primum).

176. 7 sacos SD (for saccos).

176. 25 *protulit* produxit S; produxit D (protulit produxit $G_{1,2}$).

176. 26 testium p; testesim or testi sum SDKZ.

176. 35 dolobella condempnatus est SD.

176. 37 accussatoribus SD.

177. 5 condemnato te lecto eo SD (for condemnato et eiecto eo).

177. 6 quam SDZ; om. G_2, LdK.

177. 28 ratio · Q · Q̄ · postumus curtus pqrSDZ. The worthlessness of G_1 (with which I find Par. 7822—A.D. 1471—to be here as always in agreement) is well illustrated by the shameless correction ratio quaesturae Q. Postumius Curtius. Cp. also 174. 23; 118. 37; 133. 25; 135. 37; 154. 36[2].

[1] This table of sigla will be found useful for reference:—

S Par. 7775. p Par. 7776.
D Par. 7823. q Lag. 29.
K Harl. 4105. r Harl. 2687.
Z Harl. 4852.

The rest are as in Baiter-Halm (Zürich, 1854).

[2] Recent editors agree in placing G_1 next in succession to R. How much nearer to the truth Madvig was may be seen from the following, in which, comparing G_1 with G_2, he says "quem equidem etsi est altero paulo antiquior et minus mendose et imperite descriptus tamen in hac parte (i.e. in primis libris) aliquot locis exemplaris iam interpolati et mutati

178. 9 cum (after tabulas) om. SD.
178. 13 nominis SD (for nominibus).
178. 24 iis SD (for his).
179. 6 ·p·R̄, S and so at first D; corr. p̄R̄·.
179. 13 utrum ammonitus atemptatus SD (for utrum admonitus an temptatus).

Such proofs of identity as those given above would be enough to justify the inference that the tradition of D may be confidently appealed to as representing both itself and S in those parts of the earlier Verrines where S is no longer available. But we are fortunately able to compare S and D for Books IV. and V., where again the versions are identical[1]. For these books attention may be confined to S, and proof ought at once to be adduced that in citing the readings of S we shall be making no unnecessary addition to the apparatus for these books as given in the Zürich edition. On the contrary the primacy of S alongside of the Regius (R) renders much of that apparatus now superfluous.

At the end of Book IV. S like R stopped originally at the words calamitoso dies—the remaining seven or eight lines being added subsequently by another hand partly in the space between Books IV., V. and partly at the foot of the page. The copyist of D (as also 7822) takes advantage of this addition and completes the text. A few instances out of many may now be cited from which it will appear that Par. 7775 owes nothing to R and is in all probability an independent copy of the same archetype. What seems to be the most convincing passage of all is at V. 117 (Müller 471. 31) usitatum R (quite plainly) and so a vet. cod. of Lambinus (λ): is ita tum SG_2KZ. If S had been directly copied from R, it would have been quite impossible for the copyist to make such a mistake. Incidentally it should be noted that the agreement of S here with other members of the same family may well suggest the

eodem modo quo longe frequentius in deteriore codicum familia factum est, aut interpolantis et mutantis librarii indicia aperta habere iudico." Opusc. Acad. (1887) p. 269.

[1] For example, at p. 368. 30 S has a marginal note "nota aestimationem faciendam iudicio studiosorum." This identical note is reproduced in D.

view, which we shall afterwards show to be highly probable, that the version contained in S influenced later tradition more even than that contained in the Regius itself.

Again stray capitals are found in S just as in R, e.g.:

394. 34 ·L·N· suis.

398. 16 de·L̄·N̄·de (for deinde).

472. 16 R gives non ut tam quite plainly, and is correctly reported by Jordan[1]. S gives non ut tantum, and is followed by DG_2K. In the margin D makes the necessary correction non vitam. Z combining both readings has: non ut tm̄ vitam liberum.

397. 15 Here S gives the correct reading monumenta requirit P. Scipio, in place of the curious inversion found in R, (followed by G_3, λ)[2] monumenta P. requirit Scipio.

[1] It will scarcely be credited that Thomas here asserts that the first hand in R gives non vitam while R^2 has non ut vitam, and that Jordan is in error. On the contrary Jordan is quite correct; the Regius has *non ut tam* plenis litteris and the reading can not be mistaken for anything else. This is not the only error I have noted in Thomas's otherwise valuable work. For example at 438. 10 Thomas has "R comparet." Here Jordan rightly reported *comparat* from the Regius and *comparat* occurs also in SD. Cp. also the following:—

459. 19. Here Thomas gives *ablegato*, which is the reading of the Vaticanus and the dett., without any intimation that R has *abalienato*.

"461. 10. R 1re m. luxuriae." Here the note should have run not 'prima manus' but 'primo.' A correction is made in R by the original hand by sub-punctuating and also super-punctuating the e. *Luxuria* is also the reading of SD and the dett. Cf. p. 479. 27.

475. 4. In this passage Thomas reads *praeposuisse* without any note though Jordan had rightly reported *proposuisse* from R^3.

482. 25. Here Thomas prints *Alexandria* in spite of the fact that Jordan rightly cites *ex Alexandria* from the Regius. SD om. *ex*.

365. 15. "R illãe mūmius"; this is an inaccurate report of the Regius, which as a matter of fact gives illãe ·L· mūmius.

[2] It must not be supposed that the symbol λ, as used in the Zürich edition, refers in every instance to one and the same MS. At e.g. 102. 21 λ is cited as the authority for the variant *video me*, but already in Lambinus's first edition he has written "quidam libri manuscripti habent 'video me.'" It is simply the sign which Jordan employed to denote "vetus codex Lambini in marg. 1584." All that can be affirmed with certainty is that the MS. or MSS. designated by this sign must have belonged to the X family. They are not cited after *singulari* in II. 1. 111. It is especially for Books IV., V. that in the second edition of Lambinus the symbol v. c. is used. Hence it is obvious that it was only after the pub-

402. 32 Here S gives qui in se rightly as against quin ipse in R. A correction to quin ipse seems to have been erased in S.

411. 12 inoportunas R: importunas S.

426. 1 ipsorum Syracusanorum R: Syracusanorum ipsorum SLdλKZ.

424. 3 est hoc RG_1q; hoc est SG_2Ld.

448. 8 auctorem ... interpretem ... commeatum R. ...e ...e ...u S.

483. 28 quasise arbitrium R: quas ipse ad arbitrium SDG_3.

494. 14 quae ad iudicium om. R. These words occur in S though it omits the 'iudicium' which precedes them.

496. 22 suisque R. suis usque SDG_1Z; usque G_2K.

lication of his first edition that the great editor had enjoyed the opportunity of consulting some codices of the X family of the type of RS. Madvig indeed, as stated above, thought to identify the vetus codex of Lambinus with the Regius itself for Books IV., V. See his Epistola critica ad Orellium, pp. 15–17. It is quite as likely that S was in the hands of Lambinus as that he used the Regius itself. For example at 454. 15 *qui in*, cited as from λ for quoniam, may have resulted from a wrong report of S, which has *qñ* written in such a manner that it could easily have been mistaken. On the other hand *ex ipso* λ is unique at 463. 22 against RSG_3V which give *ex isto*: cf. 453. 36 *e saxo* λ: *a saxo* RSD: *ex saxo δ*. The fact seems to be that from the manner in which the citations are made it is impossible to argue with any certainty. Lambinus speaks of "codices antiqui Memmiani" (see Zumpt praef. p. xiv), "duo libri manuscripti," etc. An important note is that on Book IV. 5 (365. 23) "erant arulae quae cuivis] sic est emendatum in codice Memmiano ex duobus libris manuscriptis et in Cuiatiano ex uno." Here the codex Memmianus was probably one of the dett. The two MSS. referred to had the true reading *arulae* in the margin with the authority for the change. Among the Paris MSS. I did not find any which contained this feature. On the other hand at 386. 6 Lambinus quotes *Netyliso* from one MS. This is the reading of G_2Ld. At 389. 6 he corrects his text—de his—by noting that one MS. has de suis, which is the reading of RG_3. At 411. 1 he cites the Memmianus and the Cuiacianus as giving recordatione; this is the reading of RG_3. There was a "Cuiacianus Gruteri apud Gulielmum" and also a Cuiacianus mentioned by Lambinus. There was also the codex Regius Graevii which had Books IV. V. only. At 485. 35, referring to the omission partim—necatos, Lambinus says hoc totum abest ab uno libro manuscripto: the omission occurs in $RSDG_3KZ$. The Greek word *ἐδικαιώθησαν* (484. 3) is reported by Jordan from "R. duo codd. Lambini alii." I find it not only in RS but also in Dp, and in the form *ἐδεικαιώθησαν* in Par. 4588 A. G_2 tries to reproduce the Greek letters in an altogether unintelligible form, while G_1KZ omit the word, leaving a blank: r also omits.

In direct succession to S comes D (Par. 7823). This MS., which contains nothing but the Verrines, belongs to the early part of the XVth century and like S comes from the library of Claudius Puteanus[1]. For the Actio Prima and the part of the Second Actio which survives, it was very sparingly used for the Zürich edition by Jordan: "non est collatus nisi paucis locis" (p. 119). From what has been said already of its relation to S, it will be obvious that D must stand at the head of the X family for that portion of the Verrines (the Divinatio, the Actio Prima, and the First Actio of the Second Book) for which we cannot cite the authority of the Regius 7774 A (R).

It will be instructive to examine some of the characteristic features of this codex and to consider also its influence on the tradition of the text:

100. 5 consilii is omitted in D followed by Ld G_2KZ Par. 7786.

100. 15 Here apparently after some deliberation (represented by a sort of rasura in his text) the copyist of D writes *quare* "plenis litteris" instead of the vulgate *qui*. In this D is followed by G_2KZ, as against p and edd. Here I am inclined to think that D is right and has preserved the tradition which would have been found in R if we had it complete.

102. 26 In this passage D omits the words vim gravitatemque requirit iudiciorum, and is followed by LdK. As stated above (p. 167), this must have been an early example of omission ex homoeoteleuto as it is common to both families. In p, the oldest member of the Y family, the words vim...requirit are written in above the line by the second hand, while the word iudiciorum is supplied in the margin.

144. 4 Here the words cum...dimiserit occur in the Y family only (pr): they are omitted by DG_3KZ, Parr. 7786, 7777 (A.D. 1466). No one will be found to hold the view that they are an accretion in p, and along with other instances, this occurrence is enough to establish the value and importance of the Y family.

[1] Though part of it has been cut away, the library mark on the first folio shows that Par. 7823 belonged to the Abbaye de Saint-Victor.

157. 9 Here again the words dictum est...aestimatum are supplied from the Y family (pqr). They had been omitted ex homoeoteleuto (*ablatum...aestimatum*) in DG_3 Parr. 7822, 7777, KZ. In the XIVth century MS. Par. 7786, which Zumpt sometimes quotes as C, they are supplied in the margin.

The fact that the omission above referred to as occurring in both families at p. 102. 26 is indicated in D by faint marks, seemingly inserted by the scribe himself, may be held to have some bearing on the passage which I now proceed to discuss, where there are again in D similar faint marks after *quaestor*:

101. 21 qui praesertim quaestor in sua provincia fuisset DλLd.

qui praesertim in sua provincia fuisset G_2;

qui praesertim quaestor in eadem provincia fuisset G_1;

qui praesertim quaestor in eadem provincia post me quaestorem fuisset pqrδ.

The above may be made a sort of touchstone for discriminating between the two families X and Y. It has been usual for editors to rule Y practically out of court, as consisting of late Italian MSS. of the XVth century, not knowing that in its leading representative p, the Y family carries the tradition as far back as the XIth century.

No doubt in many places p has been corrected and even interpolated. So also, as will be shown in another paper, has the Vatican palimpsest. In other places it has been shown that p alone preserves the text where in the MSS. of the other family an omission has occurred: the most notable example of this is the recovery from p of the words *sic abusus est* in II. 1. 130 (188. 31); cp. *haec arx* p. 475. 6—omitted in RS and G_3. In the passage above quoted, the question is, are the words *post me quaestorem* an omission in D or an accretion in p? I incline to the former view[1]. Recent editors have

[1] Zielinski deals with this passage in his recent volume *Das Clausulgesetz in Ciceros Reden* (p. 192). His canons oblige him to suggest the change *in*

sought to import more meaning into the phrase "in sua provincia" than it would appear naturally to bear: they render "in the province of which he was a native," instead of "in the province from which they (the speakers) came." Is it not possible that we have here another case of omission ex homoeoteleuto? In D, as has been said, certain faint marks occur, identical with those by which the scribe marks the admitted lacuna at 102. 26. Possibly the eye of some early copyist of the X family slipped from *quaestor* to *quaestorem* and afterwards, to fill in the sense, the obvious addition "in sua provincia" may have been made in the margin,—while all the time the real text is preserved in the Y family. The words "post me quaestorem" (though editors have not seen it) give the explanation of the use of praesertim, viz. Caecilius had the special qualification of quite recent service in Sicily. For the phrase compare Div. in Caec. § 55 ante hunc quaestorem, II. 1. § 107 post eos censores, ibid. § 111 post te praetorem.

116. 2 D is cited as having intrat[1 mittit], but as a matter of fact the word above the line is not *mittit* but *mittat*. This may explain the origin of the reading mittit which is common to the Y family (pr) and the dett.; it may have originated in the misreading of a doubtful *intr* for *mitt*, the resulting *mittat* being soon changed to *mittit*. It is interesting to note that while *intrat* is repeated in LdG_1KZ, the scribe of G_2 decides to give his readers a choice and writes *intrat vel mittit* as part of his text. The divergence of tradition at p. 186. 32 may be compared, V and the Y family giving *ire iussurum*, while the dett. have *ire missurum*. Cp. also 221. 19.

It may be well to collect at this point instances of lacunae occurring in the MSS. of the X family. Where these are found in D, it is probable that they had already existed in S, of

provincia illa fuisset. This gives a 'vera clausula' (V_3). But if we accept the so-called 'accretion,' we get an equally common form of the same clausula (V_3), – – – | – ⏑ – ⏑.

which D is a copy: they may in fact be traceable to the lost archetype of R and S. Those which are common to R and S for the Fourth and Fifth Books of the Verrines must certainly be attributable to this cause. It will be noted that in most instances the lacunae in question are due to parablepsia.

118. 37 fortunasque defenderem. After these words a lacuna occurs in D as far as fortunas defendere, 119. 7. This lacuna is repeated in LdG$_2$KZ Par. 7777; on the other hand the missing words are found in the highly corrected G$_1$, and in its counterpart at Paris—7822. Here it is obvious that some scribe of the XVth century supplied the missing words from a member of the Y family.

153. 33 septem nummos. Dedi stipendio...septem nummos. I cite this passage here for the purpose of reporting that no lacuna occurs in D: it should be credited to G$_1$.

In the later books we have similar omissions occurring as under:

374. 15–17 where the omission after the words Agrigentum peripetasmata is common to RSDG$_3$KZ Par. 7777.

377. 34–36 quanti emeris quod...quanti emeris. The missing words have here been restored from the Y family (p). They do not occur in RSDG$_3$KZ Par. 7777.

379. 27–30 argentum. Diodorus...argentum. This omission, due to the same causes as the above, occurs only in G$_2$Ld. There is no lacuna in RDSG$_1$KZ Par. 7822.

423. 24–25 Here the words from sese antea to cumque eum are not found in R, which leaves three lines blank to indicate the omission, for which the only reason must have been that the archetype was undecipherable. Exactly the same omission occurs in SDG$_3$ (as well as in Par. 7777 KZ) but without any indication of a lacuna. In this case the faithful reproduction by R of its archetype should certainly be noted as adding to the authority of the tradition which it embodies.

479. 12–13 Tu...ausus es om. RSDG$_3$KZ.

485. 3 et animo aequo videmus om. RSDG$_3$KZ.

485. 35 partim in vinclis necatos om. RSDG$_3$KZ.

A further and more extensive lacuna, already referred to.

occurs in the X family from 489. 6 to 493. 1, but is supplied by the Y family. The omission must have occurred in what I take to be the common archetype of R and S or some even earlier codex. In all these instances it will be seen that it is the Y family which has preserved and safeguarded the tradition; and it is interesting to reflect that the disappearance of the codex (or shall we say the edition?) in which the lacuna last cited originally occurred would have involved the loss of all the members of the X family. By so slender a thread hangs the tradition of some of the greatest monuments of classical antiquity.

Before leaving D I subjoin a few additional notes. First as to the head lines: I have noted in the earlier Verrines four places where headings supplied in the Y family seem to have been omitted in the archetype of the X family:—168. 8 Recita ...Servili: these words are found in p as a headline, also in q: in r they are inserted in the margin, whereas they are entirely omitted in DG_3KZ. The same may be said of 169. 31 Recita... domum; 171. 25 Recita...Thessalus, while in 171. 33 Recita, omitted in the X family, should be restored to the text as occurring in the Y family (pr).

The following are marginalia in D which occur also in other codd. of the X family:

166. 3 where circum is supplied in the margin of D by the second hand. Accordingly we have circum subicere in $G_{12}\varsigma KZ$ Par. 7786.

172. 28 where D has nunc in the text and in the margin al. vero: vero $G_2Ld\lambda K$.

180. 10 where S and D give P. Annius; in the margin D has al. C., and so most codd. and the vulgate.

As instances of the way in which D has influenced later tradition, I cite the following:

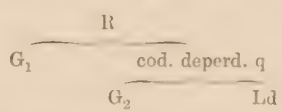
103. 23 a vobis om. DLdKZ.

104. 11 aut om. $DG_2Ld\varsigma KZ$.

108. 26 nunc non om. DLdKZ: supp. in margin D^2.

Alongside of D I may briefly classify the MSS. which have the greatest affinity to it, and first the Leidensis (Ld). This

MS. belongs to the beginning of the XVth century[1]. It formerly belonged to the library of P. Francius (1645–1704). Bake describes it as: "foliis tum membraneis tum chartaceis inter se mixtis bona manu sed recentissime scriptum." An account of this MS. is given by E. J. Kiehl in *Mnemosyne*, 1856. Not noticing that the marginal variants in Ld are always the vulgate, Kiehl wrongly ascribes them to a MS. of great age, older possibly than the archetype of Ld itself. Halm is undoubtedly right (Zürich edition, p. 324) in closely connecting Ld and $G_{12}\lambda$, though he is wrong in holding that they derive directly from R[2]. In view of the position which we must now claim for S, it may be interesting to reproduce Kiehl's stemma which sets R at the head of what I now call the X family, and supposes that from R were made two (corrected) copies: "ex eo recensionem fluxisse duplicem correctam utramque sed liberius doctiusque correctam eam quam in priore Guelferbytano habemus dum Leidensis et altera Guelf. sic et discrepant et conspirant ut appareat eas habere fontem communem librum e Regio derivatum sed a Guelf. priore diversum." Of the instances which Kiehl cites, taken from the later Verrines, it may be said generally that S and D now come in to account for the divergences between the younger members of the X family and R itself:



365. 10 Praxiteli R, but corr. to —e, and so not only $G_1\lambda$ but also SDKZ.

368. 20 Praxiteli RSG_2LdZ. G_1 alone has Praxitele, while K gives Praxitelis.

374. 5 (for Attalica) ad italica RSG_1: ad ytalica Z:
ad ytaliā Ld K;
ad Italiam G_2.

[1] According to Vollenhoven, though in the catalogue it is described as saec. XV—XVI.

[2] Halm considered G_1 G_2 and Ld (generally cited together under the symbol G_3) as of little account, being only copies of the Regius. The view of others, that they are not direct copies, but "ex eodem fonte profecti ex quo Regius" (Meusel), is confirmed by Par. 7775. To it, as the oldest example of the family, may be applied the words which Meusel uses of G_3: "Quae codici Regio cum his tribus communia sunt, ea iam in eo libro ex quo et Reg. et G_3 ducti sunt fuerunt" —de Ciceronis Verrinarum codicibus, Berlin, 1876.

374. 27 tui causam RSG$_1$KZ;
cui causam G$_2$Ld.
384. 23 proagrorum R with r expunged, þagrorum SDZ;
proagorum G$_1$ Par. 7822;
pro agrorum G$_2$Ld K.
381. 3 quem summe provinciae expectabit R;
q. s. provincie [——ae G$_{12}$] expectabant SDG$_3$KZ.

Too much authority has hitherto been assigned to Ld; even in the tempting aegrotanti for aegrotae (120. 5) it will be safer to adhere to the reading of Dp and most other MSS. We shall find also that Kiehl and others are wrong in trying to connect G$_1$ more closely with R than G$_2$Ld. Though possessing peculiarities of their own (G$_1$ in particular has been highly corrected throughout) these codd. must all rank after D. Their divergences from D are almost invariably depravations of the text. I shall continue to deal with each of them in detail, and first as to Ld :—

Here is a passage which would seem to suggest that this codex was copied from dictation, 103. 30 dicere quod C. Verres, for which K omitting quod gives dicere C. Verres, whereas Ld shows dicere se Verres. Examples of carelessness or arbitrary transposition are the following from the Divinatio, and for þrevity I may say that they are all proprii errores in Ld.

100. 10 praeclaram for iucundam.
14 fortunis suis for s. f.
101. 4 veniret for accidisset (again possibly due to the carelessness of a reader).
102. 1 defendendis sublevandisque hominibus Ld.
11 cognoscimus.

With such examples it will be obvious that it is henceforth superfluous to cite Ld as though it possessed any special authority or significance, when e.g. it omits *esse* at 102. 35. Even K has *esse* along with the other members of the family and its omission in Ld is due to carelessness. Cp. the following :

101. 5 non me defuturum.
103. 4 est necessario.
13 arbitror esse.
19 crimina duo vel maxime.

104. 27 mea mihi pono.
105. 29 fortunas nostras.
106. 21 tu tacitus.
28 contendere.
107. 1 tradi.
29 non tantum, as again 109. 6 non solum, for non modo.
108. 17 tamen om. Ld sol.
109. 29 animos credo.
34 postulas iudicium.
111. 1 where Ld omits dicenda and gives demonstranda sunt omnia explicanda causa.
15 elaboratum est.
112. 14 posse putem.
117. 13 criminationem (for *opinionem*).

In two passages of the Divinatio Ld has a lacuna all to itself:

112. 10–12 where it shows futurum esse certandumque sit mediis omissis.
117. 4–7 iniuriam ab illo accepisti. Alongside of these I may place 366. 8 where again the eye of the copyist has passed from *reddebant* to *auferebant* in 10, and an omission naturally ensues.

Closely connected with Ld is G_2 (saec. xv.). A single citation might be enough to prove this —379. 27, where a lacuna ex homoeoteleuto occurs in both from argentum <Diodorus... to argentum> se paucis in 30. In citing agreements between G_2 and Ld, I shall add K, the British Museum codex about which something will be said later on.

430. 29–30 All three omit the words mirum quendam dolorem ...auferantur.
444. 29 maximam ornatissimam.
445. 20 G_2Ld give narram for navi. K shows narā.

So in the earlier books:

107. 33 G_2Ld K agree in the senseless dicendi tempus for tempus discendi which is the reading of all the other members of both families.
112. 15 numquid for numquam.

113. 24 where all three agree with ς in omitting iudicium.
131. 22 where all omit eo.
135. 14 exspoliaret for spoliaret.
154. 2 quispiam for quisquam.
168. 8 pararet (paret K) for parasset.
177. 6 where all three omit quam.

The following agreements in error between Ld and K may be separately noted:

101. 28 institutisque.
102. 22 se accusatores.
25 difficultatibus.
35 ius tot.
105. 30 quod cuivis probare deberet.
107. 34 om. alterum.
108. 18 recesseris.
26 om. nunc non.
35 illo crimine.
111. 36 om. cum.
113. 20 hunc tantum.
118. 3 om. enim.
120. 14 de capite de fortunis.
15 hi semper.
180. 34 adiecto.

Lastly to prove a common origin for Ld and K, I need only cite the passage already discussed 102. 25, where both MSS. have tried to correct the depravation resulting from the lacuna by reading tamen in hoc atque veterum iudiciorum desiderium.

At the similar lacuna 168. 17 it is worth reporting that while G_2 omits from *eam rem* to *omnes* in line 19, K begins the omission a little earlier at the word *desiderabant* and ends at *sine his* in line 18, thus giving three words fewer than G_2 at the beginning of the gap and two words more at the end. At this place the other MSS. of both families are complete. Other parallelisms between G_2 and K are:

114. 30 intellige for intelligis.
146. 22 ac sumptui for aut sumptui.
151. 8 cum vos for tum vos.
153. 19 om. mortui.

160. 36 om. illis.

155. 10 temporis for ipsis.

395. 32 esse eversurum illam G_2K.

eversurum esse illam RSDLdZ. Here p and the dett. give illam eversurum esse. The authority of G_1, which omits *esse* is quite insufficient to justify Müller in bracketing the word. Similarly Zumpt erred in relying on G_1 at 446. 18 which should run as in RS deinde id quod perspicio et quod. The fact that G_1 omits *id quod* is of no importance whatever. Cf. 444. 23.

Alongside of G_2Ld may be ranked Harl. 4105 (anno 1462), not because it contains any new points of very great interest, but on the ground that it is obviously so faithful a copy of its original,—some lost representative of the X family. The scribe seems to have been an unlearned person, but whatever he may have had before him he certainly copied with the greatest fidelity and exactitude. The MS. which he transcribed must have been in a somewhat dilapidated condition, and it may be of interest to state the grounds on which I infer that it was a pretty closely written codex, probably of the XIIIth century, each page containing about 42 lines of Teubner text.

To begin with, the pages of the archetype had got inextricably mixed up in a way that should perhaps be detailed here in order to save any further trouble to collators who may wish to examine this codex. At page 119. 18 in the first column of the 8th folio after qui vide<batur the copyist goes on without a break to 123. 7 depeculatorem. The omission is comprised in about 85 lines of the Teubner text,—a clear indication that the copyist slipped a whole folio in his original, the two pages of which contained about 85 lines of Teubner text. From two passages we are able to infer even the length of the lines in the lost original of K. At 119. 18 the following words videbatur eorum —— posse have been accidentally omitted from either the top or the bottom of one of the displaced folios. In 134. 2 the same phenomenon recurs where the missing words are acceptae —— constituta,—about 40 letters in each case composing the missing lines. From 123. 7 he goes on to 127. 27 huius in manibus, 168 lines of Teubner text equal to

two folios of the MS. Immediately after huius in manibus the scribe goes back to 119. 19 defendere. Hoc timent. From 119. 19 he first finishes the Divinatio, and then goes on to 123. 6 cum populo Romano,—again about 80 lines of Teubner text. After 123. 6 the copyist goes on continuously 132. 10 a nobis dicta erunt, and after that the text is continuous to 134. 21. Thereafter comes continuously (in the same line) errant omnium nulla nota from 127. 27: the text is then continuous as far as 132. 9 XL diebus, which words are followed by sit quid sit quod 134. 21.

This displacement of folios is perhaps worth recording because it shows that the copyist understood his work to be to copy what he had before him without questioning. In most instances K preserves the tradition of D, sometimes however with characteristic inversions which do not occur in other codd. At 156. 22 I have noted the curious variant provincia Catonis instead of provincia Cilicia. In other places K has evidently been corrected from the Y family, e.g. 146. 28 quo pK; quos G_1Z; per quos G_2. But except from the point of view of the history of the text K cannot be said to have much significance.

More importance should be attached to Harl. 4852, a MS. which I have called Z and from which it would have been possible, if everything else had perished, to construct an admirable text. When German commentators were paying so much attention to other members of the X family, it is somewhat surprising that no English scholar should have reported this most reputable codex. I may give a general description of its tradition by saying that while it adheres more closely than the others to D, it has the benefit of some corrections from the Y family.

162. 24 optimas Dpq: om. G_2Kdett. Z has this word after deportasse but with transposition marks.
142. 37 tametsi pKZ: etsi G_2: om. Ld.
144. 7 non est DpZ: om. G_2.
32 dubitarit DprZLd: dubitant G_{12}K.
145. 18 ad vos pZ: ad nos G_{12}K.
146. 30 et ex pZ: ex G_{12}.

146. 21 deverti pZ: diverti G_1LdK.
29 vera DpZ: mea G_2K.
149. 24 inquit pZK: om. G_1.
151. 29 post DpZ: om. G_2LdK.
154. 2 quisquam DpZ: quispiam G_2LdK.
12 nunc pKZ: non G_{12}ς.
24 omnes suas DKpZ: suas omnes ς.
157. 36 illine DprKZ: illi G_{12}.
158. 25 tenem S: tennem (tennen l. 28) p: temnem r: tennem Zς: tenuem G_2LdK: Thenuem G_1: tenne D.
159. 1 illinc DpZr: istinc ς: istinc illinc G_{12}K.
168. 24 quodquam prG_{12}dett.: quod quoniam DςZ.
30 flebat DpZK: flevit G_2.
33 luctum et DpZ Par. 7777: om. G_2K.
172. 10 concitarant pKZ: ——ent qrG_2.
28 nunc DpZ al.: vero G_2Kλ (in mg. of D al. vero).
175. 1 in (after infimum) pZ: om. G_{12}K.

On the other hand Z shares certain peculiarities with Ld and K, e.g.

104. 11 om. aut (before causa).
108. 13 hasportare.
111. 37 Z and K rightly read exspectatione omnium: here G_2 gives expectatione hominum, while G_1 has exspectatione hominum vel omnium.
120. 27 om. habet.
129. 31 a me for ad me.

It has been already stated that the authority of G_1 has been grossly exaggerated by most previous critics of the Verrines[1]. Nohl for example, the most recent editor, puts it at the head of the MSS. which he believes to be derived from the second hand in R, with an admixture, especially towards the end, from the dett. This was also Halm's view originally (see p. 324 of the Zürich edition). Zumpt had actually elevated G_1 and G_2 above R and was very properly criticised by Madvig for so doing (*Opusc. Acad.* p. 330 seqq.). Indeed the great Danish

[1] From the Librarian at Wolfenbüttel I learn that G_1 is considered to have been written towards the end of the xvth century.

scholar had already noted the arbitrary and capricious character of the recension contained in G_1, at least so far as Books IV. and V. are concerned. "prior quidem Guelf. hic ut in superioribus locis nonnulla aperta licentioris mutationis vestigia habet velut IV. 51. 114 *vocasse* pro *interisse, aedificata* cum libris vulgaribus pro *coaedificata.*" The same readings occur in its congener Par. 7822: in the latter passage it should be reported that S originally had *aedificata,* but makes the correction to *coaedificata* in the same hand above the line. When I come to treat of S in detail it will be easy to show how much purer its tradition is than that of G_1. Meanwhile the following may be cited as passages where G_1 arbitrarily departs from the received tradition:

102. 32 atque etiam plausibile.
35 esse remedium.
104. 3 necesse non est.
117. 3 in illius vita nullam.
143. 36 nullo modo eripi.
144. 14 pecuniam contra leges[1].
159. 33 exploratagque (here Par. 7822 rightly gives exportataque).
36 vicinis for intimis.
445. 11 an licuerit G_1 against cui licuerit RSDG_2Ld. Here G_1 should have corrected to cui instead of an.

For the following aberrations I am able to report complete agreement between G_1 and Par. 7822:

104. 13 his talibus testibus.
22 petissent a me praesidium.
105. 6 et ex privato.
107. 10 et ita causam mutandam.
123. 25 rp instead of pr.
133. 25 neque taedeat neque pudeat (with Par. 7822).
31 om. premitur et.
32 om. me.

[1] At p. 145, 11 G_1 has the inversion iam me pridem for me iam pridem, a reading which Jordan credits to Ps. Asc. and the dett., but which I can report from DKZpr: G_2 gives me iam non pridem.

135. 37 de se umquam (with Par. 7822, against umquam de se pKZ: umquam ad se D).
137. 23 et tollere.
154. 36 neque umquam (with Par. 7822, against nemo umquam pKZ).
157. 32 horum for tuorum.
159. 8 loco dem sortitus es.
162. 6 om. quidem.
17 eiusmodi.
163. 16 hoc iter.
25 qua.
165. 14 nuntiata sunt filio (contra Non. et p).
167. 15 occisus esse.
169. 19 quod concupieris quod audieris.
170. 36 ubi for nisi.
171. 36 iuvat te.
173. 2 dici potest pro dignitate.
21 etiam erat.
23 arbitrari.
175. 16 om. tibi (contra Non. pKZ).
177. 3 ad aerarium rationes.
179. 14 qua cum sagacitate.

Most of the above are inversions and other kinds of aberrations which do not occur in D. They are in themselves sufficient to prove that, compared with D, G_1 is hardly worth referring to. Its tendency to capricious correction is nowhere better seen than in the instance already cited from p. 177. 28 (see p. 168 above). The original of G_1 must have been a MS. which had a certain number of variants probably written in above the line. This may be made to appear from the following passages:

111. 37 exspectatione hominum vel omnium.
115. 35 si parret heam vel si parent et sua.
116. 21 denique vel deinde.
117. 16 omnibus ceteris.
24 parentis numero vel modo.
34 platoni vel filoni.
154. 17 vel consul sullanus.

159. 1 istinc illinc.
160. 27 vel huiusmodi.
162. 28 planium vel pluvium.
173. 25 cautum vel tum.

Of Par. 7822 itself, which is dated 1471, it is enough to say that it agrees with G_1 in every particular, but as it stops with the words *mulierum adversarium futurum* it cannot have been copied from G_1 which ends with *malebat* twelve lines above. The contrary supposition that G_1 was copied from the Paris codex is equally probable, and it is one of the caprices of criticism that so much attention should have been paid by commentators to the comparatively worthless MS. at Wolfenbüttel while its Parisian gemellus has been altogether neglected. The two following passages may be held to complete the proof of identity of tradition.

159. 8 loco dem sortitus es.
373. 26 qui ordo adhuc a vobis despectus est. It may be noted here that S has qui ordo a vobis adhuc ademptus est, and supra lineam in the same hand, solis contemptus est, which is the reading of R.

The last member of the X family to deserve notice is Par. 7786, cited as C in the Zürich edition (see p. 178) for the second and third books. This is a fourteenth century codex and is of a composite character, the second and third books being supplied by a different hand, which also fills in the lacuna already noted as occurring on p. 118 (*Div.* §§ 65, 66). That the writer had several codd. before him may be inferred from the marginal note which he sometimes gives—"in aliq. codd. est."

We come now to the Y family, at the head of which must be set the much-neglected Par. 7776 (p)—a comparison of which, with D for the earlier Verrines, the Cluni codex for Books II. and III. and the Regius for Books IV. and V. ought to result in a more or less complete establishment of the true text. This important codex has hitherto been known only through Zumpt and Thomas. For the Zürich edition, where it is quoted as B for Books II. and III., Jordan depended on Zumpt.

I have already stated (p. 165 note) that Zumpt's collation cannot be entirely trusted. For example p gives at 166. 32 *tribunus militum* as also at 167. 33 *reperire neminem*. The recovery of the words *sic abusus est* 188. 31, and such readings as *moratorum* in the Divinatio 114. 4 (formerly credited to the Cuiacianus alone), are enough to show the importance of a new collation of this important codex, which was for a time wrongly attributed to the thirteenth century instead of the eleventh. It may be noted in passing that the first hand in p completed the rubric only for the Divinatio, the Actio Prima and the first book of the Second Actio. Especially in Book IV. frequent blanks are left by the first hand, possibly from the difficulty the writer had in deciphering his original.

The main problem in connection with p is to determine whether certain words are interpolations in the family to which it belongs or omissions in the X family. It is not enough to cite passages in which a gloss has obviously crept into the text and from these to condemn all the rest. For instance at 183. 8 after *litis*, pqr agree in giving the gloss *fide iussores fructuum*, but we cannot infer from this with certainty that when at 130. 6 the same MSS. agree in giving *propter iudicium non licebat*, the words *propter iudicium* are to be regarded as an accretion on the ground that they do not occur in $DG_3s\lambda KZ$ Cuiacianus and Par. 7777. This is the argument which I have sought (p. 173, above) to apply to the difficult passage 101. 22 where the Y family agrees with the dett. in showing *post me quaestorem* as against DG_3KZ. Similarly at 135. 11 there may be something to be said for *cum praesertim planum facere* which is the reading of p as against the vulgate *cum planum* (cum plenum DKZ). Again at 136. 7 some might like to argue that *opportunissimum*, which occurs in pr, really belongs to the text. Doubt might even be thrown on Madvig's authority when he instructs us to reject at 152. 15 the reading *flagitiis peccatisque* which p shares with the dett. instead of *flagitiis* DG_3sKZ: "est hoc unum ex infinitis exemplis interpretamenti per particulam adiuncti; nimis enim lenis est haec vox et vulgaris post grave et proprium flagitiorum nomen."

In a final judgment as to the relative value of the X

and Y traditions we shall find that a comparison of the Vaticanus (V) is one of the most important factors. But V must form the subject of a separate paper. A list of passages will be given further on, when the detailed readings of S are dealt with; meanwhile two places may be noted in which V supports p and the vulgate against both R and S.

369. 33 habuisse illa Vpδ: illa habuisse RS.

370. 37 quantam Vpδ: quam RS.

An interesting passage is 185. 34 where I can now report *id iurare* from p, confirming Klotz's conjecture; ad iurare V; iurare id qr; iurare cett.

The following are places where the true text seems to be established by the agreement of Dp as the best representatives respectively of the X and Y families:

103. 26 dicis DLdG_2ϛλKZpqr; dices G_1δ edd.

113. 5 si enim mihi hodie pr (probably also q): so also D but with compendia that may help to explain the corruption si ꝛ m̓ hodie;
si enim hodie mihi Z;
si hoc mihi die G_2Ld;
si hoc mihi hodie Y.

126. 8 tam patria cuiusquam DpKZ cum plerisque: here the second hand in p has *cuiusquam* above the line in front of *tam*, whence r (i.e. Harl. 2687) has probably derived its cuiusquam tam patria cuiusquam, while recent edd. with q and ϛ give cuiusquam tam patria.

150. 2 molliorem (moliorem pr) DZpqr;
meliorem G_3K.

34 nostra esset DKZp: esset nostra G_1.

151. 3 virorum bonorum DKp: bonorum virorum G_2: bonorum om. Z.

145. 15 Here p rightly gives ūra for vestra. D has a similar compendium in such lettering that it could easily have been misread; consequently KZ show nr̄a and G_2ϛ nostra.

151. 29 post DZp: om. G_2LdK.

164. 11 munus illud suum DZp (Par. 7777): illud munus suum G_2K: munus suum illud G_1 Par. 7822.

167. 1 quo tempore quidem DZpr cum plerisque: quo tempore ipse quidem G_2K.
170. 19 perpetua confirmat Dp: confirmat perpetua qr.
170. 31 moriendum sibi potius DZpr: moriendum potius sibi G_2: sibi moriendum potius K.
174. 27 facillime SDKZp: facile qr (Serv. ad Verg. *Ecl.* v. 36).
175. 25 existat SDKZpr: exeat G_2.
178. 37 nihil oporteat S^2DZp: nihilo poterat S^1G_1 Par. 7822.
ib. ac SDKZp: aut Prisc.

The following are cases where the tradition of p diverges for the better from that of D:

125. 27 cui et legatus pqr:
cui ille (illa Ld) legatus $DG_1Ld\varsigma Z$:
cui l. legatus G_2:
cui l. ille legatus K.
141. 12 paratus prδ Schol. Prisc.: om. $DG_3\varsigma CKZ$.
144. 15 equitibus ·r· (for Romanis) p (cf. Cod. Clun. 265. 20): om. G_3KZ.
146. 10 quo in numero p: quo e numero $DG_{12}\varsigma\lambda Z$.
147. 10 cognosset pqr: cognoscet $D\varsigma KZ$: cognosceret cett.
148. 28 simus p: sumus $G_{12}\varsigma KZ$.
153. 9 ornabat pr: honorabat $DG_{12}KZ$.
154. 25 fecisses p: legisses $DG_3\varsigma KZ$ (cf. 162. 14 fecit p: legit ς: legis $G_{12}K$: leḡ Z).
26 consuli p (per compend.): om. $G_{12}KZ$.
159. 35 hominibus p: nominibus $DG_3\varsigma KZ$.
162. 15 verum p: utrum $G_{12}KZ$.
164. 10 mali pq: om. $DG_3\varsigma KZ$.
37 ille pq: om. $DG_{12}\varsigma\lambda DZ$.
165. 25 mane homines pδ; homines mane $DG_{12}\lambda\varsigma C$.
29 oratio p: ratio $DG_3\varsigma KZr$.
167. 6 multa pqr: multum $DG_3\varsigma\lambda CKZ$.
33 reperire neminem pq: neminem reperire $DG_{12}\varsigma CKZ$; here Zumpt and Jordan cited p wrongly as giving neminem reperire. (The case is at best a doubtful one: cp. 146. 1 where pq agree in *iudices quisquam*, against *quisq. iud.* DKZ.)
175. 28 at pr: om. $SDG_3\varsigma KZ$.

176. 26 testium p: testi sum (or testesim) S primo, KZ.

178. 34 ex pδ Prisc. Schol.: om. SDG_3KZ.

179. 13 an temptatus p: atemptatus SD: attemptatus $G_2\lambda\delta\varsigma$: attentatus Z.

368. 34 Here pq and the dett. give numquam enim si denariis quadringentis: RSD agree in numquam ·X· CCCC. Here the question is—should *enim* be part of the text? In all probability it should. In any case RSD omit *si* just as they do again before HS in the similar passage at 374. 23.

To these should be added the crucial passages already cited:

144. 45 where an omission in X is supplied in pr.

157. 9–10 where an omission in X is supplied by p and the other members of the Y family.

174. 23 sodalius istius p: sodalicius SDK: sodalitius $G_2\varsigma Z$: sodalius G_1 Par. 7822.

188. 31 sic abusus est pqr: om. X.

457. 7 quisquam omnium p Par. 4588: om. RSG_3KZ.

Next to p must be placed a MS. which editors have kept somewhat in front of the rest of its class—Lag. 29 (saec. XV.). This MS. (q) contains the Verrines only. The full collation which I have made of p probably renders superfluous any further attention to q, though the fact that I have ascertained that the missing words "sic abusus est" 188. 31 actually occur in q is enough to show that it has been somewhat inadequately reported[1]. The derivation of q from p may be established from the following places:

148. 29 instead of verum vobis (D) p has uerū euobis: q gives verum et vobis (and is followed by r).

158. 36 p^1 has quę delegatos corr. by same hand: quae ad delegatos q^1.

159. 19 cophium p and q^1.

[1] Cp. Müller, Adnot. Crit. xci: Codicis Lagom. 29 collationem inchoavit Reifferscheid, sed nec ultra § 63, lib. iv progressus est et notata negat se iterum accuratius examinasse; ex quibus tamen ipsis facile cognoscitur quanta fuerit Lagomarsini neglegentia, quamque sit optandum ut inchoatum opus perficiatur.

169. 24 ut ab se atque ab liberis suis. Here p omits ab liberis and is followed by the first hand in q: a later hand in q supplies the words above the line, and so Lag. 42 and other late MSS. As against pq, the third member of the Y family (which I call r) has a liberis which is the reading also of $DG_1Z_2\delta$. G_2 gives simply liberis. K omits atque ab. I incline to think that the true reading here may be a se atque suis, though of course sibi ac liberis suis is a common collocation in Cicero (135. 27 : 164. 9).

173. 2 Here p and the first hand in q agree in omitting taceri.

185. 18 commemorarem pq[1].

31 quisque pq.

187. 29 om. ordine pq.

193. 5 where for neve redimito p gives neuere dimitto and q ne vere dimitto.

As I am anticipating about r I may as well give a short description of this MS. before going further. It is Harl. 2687, an Italian MS. of the middle of saec. XV. and seems to deserve more attention than has hitherto been given it, at least for the earlier Verrines. It contains also the Philippics, for which it has been collated by Mr A. C. Clark. This MS. certainly stands in close relation for the Verrines to p and q, though it is not a mere duplicate of either[1]. Mr Clark called my attention to the fact that at 492. 2 3 r omits in crucem...tum fueris which is one line in q; but in spite of that I can affirm that certainly in the earlier books of the Verrines r is no copy of q[2]—in proof of which the following passages may be cited:

102. 7 praeditus scelere q (a gratuitous inversion): scel. praed. r.

[1] For example at 209. 6, the words primum...educamus, which are omitted in r, form a single line in p. This explains the original source of the omission though it does not of course follow that r is directly copied from p.

[2] It may be of interest to record that at 236. 1–2 the words *adferrentur* —*stilum* are omitted in r. These words must obviously have formed a single line in the MS. from which r was copied. This was certainly not q, as I find on a reference to the librarian at Florence, that the words in question are *not* comprised in one line in q.

103. 26 esse r: om. pq.
112. 9–10 quidem...futurum om. q: no lacuna in r: cp. 218. 19.
118. 15 causa est r (Dp): est causa q: est om. δ. At 124. 1–3 r has a lacuna pertimuisse...invidiaque.
119. 20 relictos esse DprKZ: esse relictos q (esse om. Arusianus).
127. 18 pr as text: constituta sit ab eo q.
130. 21 deiicerer pq: deiiceret r.
32 iam r: eam q.
150. 14 nos p: non qr.
152. 26 perlectorum q: perductorum r.
157. 17 illa r: om. pq.
163. 23 monebant q: admonebant pr.
172. 8 non q (pZ al.): nonne r.
181. 35 ego prC: om. q.
182. 9 nostra p codd.: paterna q: nostra paterna r.
185. 32 A pr: om. Vq.
190. 26 summo pudore et summo officio pr (om. *et* V): summo officio q.
27 O multis indomiae acerbam q: indomiae om. p.
194. 4 tutorū ademisti pr: tutorum una adem. q.
257. 30 hodii cum q: ^{h}odii cum r, R (i.e. Rhodii) being added by man. 2.

At 169. 31–33 r follows p even in the detail of leaving room for a capital B at Bellum, the title immediately preceding being in both MSS. written in the margin. Agreements between all three codd. are as under:

157. 9–10 dictum est hoc...aestimatum pqr soli.
176. 18 The first hand in p has added pestem above the line: this gives rise in qr to pestem tempestatemque instead of tempestatem pestemque.
195. 22 stetisse cum V: stet esse cum p^1 (ut Par. Lall.): tet esse cum p^2: ter esse cum qr: testis secum dett.
218. 19 vetuisti pqr for noluisti.
236. 11 et facit coram omnibus esse pr Par. 4588 A.
285. 31 et iis...malueris om. pqr.

293. 10 tanta om. pqr.
13 ulla om. pqr.

The following differences may be noted as showing that r is not derived solely from p:

101. 6 sua ut r: om. p.
114. 9 singillatim pq: sigillatim rG_2K: singulatim G_1Z.
113. 25 continebit pq: sustinebit r.
128. 35 here p first gives verterentur, then corrects to vertentur: r has morarentur.
163. 10 homines pq: homines autem rDKZ al. edd.
173. 6 Fabio pq: Rabio r.
185. 32 A pr: om. qV.
fratrem illum pqr: illum V edd.
186. 13 a quo r: quo Vpq.
188. 23 de pq: om. Vrδ.
189. 22 dicit pq^1: dicit ei q^2r rell. edd.
190. 3 P. Tettio pq: P. tertio r: Potitio δ.
193. 25 deiectum pq Prisc.: delectum ς: deletum rδ.

On the other hand the close relationship of r to p is shown in the following:

198. 9 mutando interpolando pq. In r and the dett. after mutando we find curando ne litura appareat. The insertion is to be explained by the fact that these words occur in the margin of p where they are written by the first hand. In passing I may note that this same hand furnishes a note on subsortiebatur 198. 18 "infiniti modi est non personae tertiae."

Alongside of pqr should be placed the Paris MS. 4588 (saec. XIII.) cited as A for Books II. III. in the Zürich edition. This MS. is in a very defective condition and very hard to read. I have compared it at certain places for Books IV. V., which in this codex precede Books II. III. It is in general agreement with the Y family though with certain features of its own that lead me to rank it after pq and with the dett.[1]

[1] At p. 446. 4, *nam dixit Heius, princeps istius legationis quae*, the dett. have Heius princeps civitatis princeps ist. leg. Instead of this 4588 gives dixit eius princeps civitatis princeps ist. leg., from which it might

The Erfurtensis (E) has been fully dealt with by Mr A. C. Clark in the *Journal of Philology* (Vol. XVIII. No. 35) where he shows, in opposition to the judgment of Zumpt, that it is directly copied from Harl. 2682 (H). Gruter had thought on the contrary that H was derived from E. Both have the fragment at the beginning of the Third Verrine, Capp. I.—V. The identity of tradition in these two MSS. and also in the Cluni Codex is well-nigh complete. To prove this, reference need only be made to Mr Clark's collation of H as given in his volume of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Part vii, 1892), pp. 48–51. For the fragment of the Third Book, which extends from the opening to *deprecati* 274. 20, I note only two divergences between H and E: 271. 25 where H is reported as giving *precipitur* against *percipitur* E (so too the Cluni Codex, as may be inferred from the attribution of this reading to M=Metellianus: also Lg. 42), and 272. 16 where H has *iudices mihi* instead of *mihi iudices* E and Lg. 42. For the rest of this fragment H and E are in complete agreement, both with each other and with what we now know to have been the Cluni Codex, cited variously by Nannius (N), Fabricius (F), Metellus (M), and anonymously, or by Lambinus (ϕ)[1]. In the same way H may now be allowed

be argued that princeps civitatis may have been originally added to explain *eius* after that word had crept in for *Heius*.

[1] For a statement of the thesis that Clun. 498 (C) was the MS. used by these various editors, and that Lag. 42 (which I cite as O) is, as regards Books II.—III., a copy of C, v. my volume in the Anecdota Oxoniensia, Part ix. (1901): also the Class. Rev. 1902, Vol. xvi. pp. 401—406. To the citations there made the following may be added. First with regard to what seem to be arbitrary transposition variants in Lg. 42 we have

211. 32 optimi argenti O for argenti optimi.

211. 13 ex negotiatioribus propositi O for prop. ex neg.

211. 35 pecuniam Heraclio O for Her. pec.

282. 37 reliqui est O for est reliqui.

285. 3 Apronium tantum O for tantum Apronium.

Alongside of the remarkable *videtur mihi videtur* 243. 2, commented on in C. R. Vol. xvi. 402, may be placed 253. 32, where C had, evidently, with the vulgate, *eos ita abs te*. Lag. 42 wants to alter the position of *ita*, as elsewhere (e.g. 100. 3): and Müller's note is "eos ita (cum signis transp. et praeterea punctis subscr. del. *ita* m. 1) abs te ita Lag. 42."

Compare also 215. 33. Here the vulgate runs *ante aliquanto quam*. The Y family (pqr) give *aliquanto antequam*. O has *ante aliquanto antequam*.

To the list of omissions in O of

to displace the symbol E in the Zürich edition for the excerpts from Book IV., which begin at ch. xviii.—the later codex invariably reproducing the second hand in H. I shall refer here only to one point which helps to establish Nettleship and Nohl's conjecture *per Verrem* at 474. 21 for *per hunc* V, *per me* RSDZp and the dett. Here the reading of V is rather difficult to accept, not only because it is unsupported, but also because of the cacophony involved in *at nunc per hunc spoliati*. The fact seems to be that *me* in the alternative tradition actually conceals *Verrem*, written *ure*: H has *uri* for *Verri* at 379. 15 which a late hand, failing to understand, has corrected to *viro*, much in the same way as the copyist of V substituted *hunc* (cp. 352. 21); and again at l. 29 *Verre* is represented by *ure*.

In conclusion, we may now consider the details of the relationship of S to R, citing to begin with places where the two codd. are in agreement. It will be found, however, as we go on, that S has an authority independent of R[1].

what must have been a line in Cluni I may now add

354. 5 *bonis everti aratores et id non.*

362. 11 *atque opportunissimam provinciam.*

Perhaps also 320. 16 *tamen incolumis numerus manebat.*

323. 17 *terror in auribus animis.*

Some readings of O can only be explained on the supposition that the writer of O found the Cluni Codex hard to decipher, e.g.

292. 34 *colu itus* Lag. 42 = *coluit iis.*

300. 4 *verum non una te tantum* C: *imminuata* O.

319. 32 *immani* O = *summa vi.*

321. 10 *avaritie lectosce scribit Metellum* O = *avaritia eiectos scribit Metellos.*

326. 8 *iniquo iueme iurare* O = *iniquum eierare.*

334. 16 *iusuuri et* (i.e. visuuri, o *iusuuri et*) O = *insinuet.*

335. 25 *nunc prope Verrem* O = *nunc pro te Verrem.*

341. 34 *vicino* O = *Maevio.*

343. 13 *in hisce* O = *nihil te.*

351. 6 *et hinc istam* O = *et in cistam.*

355. 18 *cum morumve* O = *cum in crimine.*

357. 9 *se iure improbissimo* O = *se in re improbissima.*

358. 16 *aduentu ex unā* | *mtuu*[s] *tebaris* O = *adventu et vix menstruis cibariis.*

To the proof that the Codex Nannianus was the Cluniacensis and that divergences are to be attributed to slipshod reporting on the part of Nannius add:—

300. 21 tantum lucri VOpq 4588.
triticum lucri δ.
tantum triticum lucri N.

Here Nannius wanted to report *tantum* from the Cluni Codex, and in doing so omitted to delete *triticum*.

[1] As already stated, the Vaticanus

366. 11 helo for heio RS.
369. 1 videmus Rpr: corr. eadem manus vidimus, and so SDp.
370. 18 penatis Rpr: penates corr. RSD.
383. 24 Nymphiodoro RSH.
397. 24 relinques aut deseres RS. Here S first wrote *ac* for *aut* (as in pq), then the same hand corrected to *aut*.
401. 4 domo (for domi) RSHG_2Ld: om. G_1.
402. 31 tota provincia provisa RSG_3.
404. 13 praetoria manum Hp: praetoris amanum^c R: praetoris ac manum SD.
417. 15 eat om. RSG_3 (before ad).
422. 9 Here S repeats the error of R palā ē retis for palaestritis: palam est retis D.
425. 2 atque appellabit RS.
36 apud illos RSG_{12}.
431. 31 Here R^1 is reported as giving ad, R^2 at. The fact is that the correction is made to at by the first hand in R, and this is also the reading of SDG_1LdKZ.
446. 5 ad tuam legationem (for laudationem) RS.
447. 19 ante om. RS.
26 Here instead of inerat R shows inerant, the n being written above the line probably by the first hand. S also gives inerant, which may be correct if we read notae instead of nota in the end of the sentence.
31 novo om. RS.
448. 22 imperarent pecuniamque RS.
449. 4 ante om. RS: quam te R: quam S.
22 exigisses RS.
33 iudex (for iudices) RS and so also at 452. 35.
451. 21 cum tantam difficultatem crimine RSG_3.
37 tanto a periculo RS: tantoque periculo G_2Ld.
452. 21 dicit (for ducit) RS.
453. 24 sit om. RS.
32 ferire (for feriri) RS.

(V) forms the subject of another paper (Am. Journ. Phil. xxvi. 409), in which I show that the authority of this codex—one of the oldest and most valuable of all Ciceronian MSS.—has been grossly underestimated by critics and editors.

457. 21 eoque RSG_3. Here two codd. of Lambinus are reported as showing eo quod. S cannot have been either of these.

458. 3 utrum RS for vivum.

13 esse enim R with transposition marks: enim esse S: esse enim pq.

20 for nam aestate RS agree in the error nam siate.

23 for ipsi RS have ipse.

459. 2 archodio RS for ab Rhodio.

7 Both have utrum for verum: ib. 10 S at first wrote east for ea est: ib. 13 aeta for acta, tum for secum, excogit for excogitat.

461. 10 RS agree in ac as also q: whereas p and the dett. give atque.

21 quadruremis qui R with the u subpunctuated to i: so SG_2Ld and three Parr.

31 res se RS: res sese q: sese res pδ.

463. 13 Here the text has been safeguarded by the concurrence of RS against pδ, which insert exit after excitatus. S has excitatus in a rasura from which it may be inferred that the copyist had some difficulty about the reading. Otherwise S agrees with R.

24 propositus RS for praepositus.

31 esset RS for est.

464. 15 abluantur $RSG_3\lambda$.

19 myoparon Rpr, corr. muoparon, and so S (myoparo Vδ).

466. 37 Cleomene RS: Cleomeni pδ: de Cleomene G_3.

467. 30 chorum RS for forum.

469. 28 oculorum tuorum tum RS.

474. 20 duxit et RSG_3: ducit p.

21 laudes RS for laudis.

480. 25 instead of negare R and G_3 are quoted as having genere: S at first wrote *gnæ*.

481. 25 civitatium RS instead of civium which seems to be the result of a correction in G_{12}: the dett. omit.

483. 5 ad lanio (for a Dianio) RS.

484. 9 invitam R (for inultam). Here S inserts c above the line and G_3KZ follow with invictam.

484. 14 magnis (for mancipiis) RS.

485. 28 Here instead of avaritiae te nimiae, R has the curious reading avaritiaet nī te. This reading reappears in SG_3 in the form avaritia (avaricia S) et enim te. Cf. 466. 24 where instead of ex nimia RS agree in giving eximia.

The following are cases of agreement between S and the second hand in R:

383. 20 a S and so R^2 supra lineam.

385. 5 escendit R^1p: ascendit $R^2Sq\delta$.

388. 33 hii R^1: hi ipsi R^2S: hi $pq\delta$. This passage should be exhibited in greater detail as under:

hiipsostea quam temporibus R^1.
hi ipsi postea quam t. R^2SD.
hi postea quam t. p.

Compare also Harl. 2682 (H^1) hi ipsos te aquam temporibus. H^2 hi ipsis temporibus postquam.

390. 17 Here the first hand in R (and so also H^1) is rightly reported by Jordan, though not by Thomas, as giving religio; the same hand subpunctuates and so converts religio to regio. R^2 corrects to religioso which is also the reading of $SDG_3H^2E\lambda K$.

407. 22 diiuncta R^1: disiuncta R^2Sp. It is to be noted here that the correction in R is made by a late hand.

409. 12 iis R^1: his R^2Spq (similarly 415. 21).

418. 2 uriom R^1: urion R^2S.

426. 36 fateḍantur R: fateantur SG_1: confiteantur G_2: conficiantur Ld.

430. 6 communicat δ: an putas R^2S.

442. 18 sellam curulem ius imaginis. Here the genitive is preserved in curulentus imaginis R^1 Non. δ. R^2 corrects to imagines and so also SZp.

448. 25 quo modi consilio R: commodi consilio R^2SG_{12}.

451. 32 missionis R^1: missiones R^2SG_3: missione δ.

463. 7 an per R^1: nuper R^2S al.

467. 10 conflexusque (for complexusque) R. Here the reading of S (confloxusque) may be connected with an o which seems to have been written in above the line in R and is now erased.

471. 1 t. veccium R^1: totve civium R^2SDKZ.

475. 26 videatur R^1: videatis R^2Sp: videtis δ.

476. 15 sibi PRLU.Metellum R: sibi ·pr· lucium metellum SD.

482. 2 statio (for statuitis) R^1: sceatis R^2SDG_3K.

486. 14 argentariam Lepti fecisse. Here R gives argentari malefici fecisse. By the second hand in R this is changed to argumentari maleficii fecisse which is the reading also of SG_3.

494. 4 Here at first R had flagiti. R^2 adds a second i above the line to make flagitii, which is the reading also of SDKZ.

497. 5 quis in natura (for quasi natura) R. Here the second hand in R corrects to qui si in natura and this is the reading of SG_3.

But S does not always agree with the second hand in R:

366. 3 Here as also at 367. 23, 375. 5 before iudices the letter o is written in by another hand in R, the same which often makes the change from quom to cum, and is not reproduced in S. This phenomenon does not occur in other places, e.g. 366. 11. Similarly at 365. 35 the first hand in R gives di, while R^2 gives di° and S has dii.

423. 16 referant SDKZ: referatur R^2δ: referetur R^1: refertur p Lag. 42.

The weightiest proof that S—in spite of such agreements as the foregoing—is an independent copy of the same archetype as R has been given in an earlier part of the present paper, 471. 31 (p. 169). Among other points I note the following, including in their order some passages already cited:

364. 6 magno opere Rpr: magnopere SG_3H. Cf. 430. 15 tanto opere R: tantopere S rell. 468. 10 magno opere R: magnopere S. In this place VRSG_3D agree in giving magno opere potuit Cleomenes facere; on the other hand three codd. Lambini are said to have agreed with Quintilian IX. 43 in the order quid Cleomenes facere potuit.

367. 32 Here it is to be noted that S does not repeat R's

mistake in giving modo ut in for modo ut. In R it must have come from IMPVNE.

368. 8 semper fuis R: superfuisse SDKZ.

370. 33 quid R: qui SDG_3.

371. 2 ista laudatio RV: laudatio ista S (with faint marks of transposition) $G_3\lambda KZ$.

11 dem Rp: sit S et plerique. This divergence points to some error: perhaps the original text ran *ut quam minimum iud.* (*i.e. iudices*) *illis sit temporis.*

27 ex foedere debuisti Rp edd.: debuisti ex foedere SDG_3KZ.

373. 12 Here it is interesting to record that DK give the absurd reading mecum leve est dico. The reason is probably to be found in the fact that S wrote pr. manu mecum $dico^{b}$ senatorem $leve^{a}$ est.

26 qui ordo a vobis adhuc ademptus est S. supra lineam in the same hand, solis contemptus est, which is the reading of R.

377. 25 revertamur SDKZp (this reading is quoted by Lambinus as from libri duo manuscripti): revertantur R: revertatur qδ edd.

378. 35 ab R: a Spδ.

380. 1 vix pqHδ Serv.: non SDG_3: om. R.

381. 4 expectabit R: expectabant SD rell.

11 qui quinti Maximi p: quique maximi R: q′q; maxime S: quique maximi DG_3.

33 emissa SDG_3KZ: amissa Rpδ.

382. 14 for renuntiare dedisti SD agree in giving renuntiare reddidisti which G_1 characteristically alters to tradidisti.

386. 36 for cognorint which is given in S per compend (*g*nor̄t) R shows the unintelligible gonrit: G_2LdK agree in norunt as against cognoverint pq: cognoverunt δ.

387. 30 ad quos solebat litteras S in mg. and so G_3K.

389. 19 credo satis Rp: satis credo $SG_3\lambda K$.

392. 2 where R has P·R· P̊·R̊·, S has ·p̄r̄· The resulting confusion leads G_2Ld to omit a praetore, while populi Romani which is in G_2Ld is omitted in $G_1q\lambda$.

17 in rege tam nobili re tam eximia iniuria R: in rege tam nobiliore tam eximiam iniuriam SDG_3.

395. 16 ab illis REHq: ab eis $SG_3\lambda$.

29 arcessebat pq: accersebat RHδ: arcersibat S: accersibat D et al.

397. 15 monumenta P. requirit Scipio R: monumenta requirit P. Scipio S.

397. 25 etiam eorum Sδ: eorum etiam R: etiam om. pq (cf. 402. 21).

399. 8 laboret SG_3KZpq: elaboret R.

400. 2 populusque RKδ: populus SDG_{12}.

401. 12 ipsi se S vulg.: ipsese R: ipsi sese δ.

402. 21 igitur tibi nunc R: nunc igitur tibi $SDG_3\lambda LdK$: tibi om. pq (397. 25).

32 quin ipse R: q̄ in se S: here an alteration to quin ipse seems to have been erased and the correct reading is accordingly preserved in S not in R.

405. 11 non modo breviter mihi SG_3 for mihi non modo breviter R.

15 In this passage instead of grandes simili in genere R is rightly reported by Madvig and Jordan as giving grandissimi hii in genere, though Thomas prints the received text without any mark of divergence on the part of R. S at first gave the same reading, except that for hii it gave hi which is nearer *li* in the text, but the copyist subsequently altered grandissimi to grandissimas, which is also the reading of G_1. G_2Ld alter to gravissimas. λ alone seems to have divided the syllables correctly and is reported as giving grandis simili genere.

408. 2 reportandos SDλG_3: reportandosque R (cf. 372. 23: 422. 34: 444. 32): reportandosque reponendosque Halm edd. preponendo restituendosque p: reportandos restituendosque Nohl: reponendos restituendosque δ.

409. 14 orbem omnem Rλ: omnem orbem SDG_3: orbem omnium pδ.

410. 15 enim erat $SDG_3Kp\delta$: erat enim R.

411. 12 inoportunas R: importunas S.

32 ab dominis Rp: a dominis $SDG_3KZ\delta$.

412. 27 iis R: his Sδ: om. p.
33 inque iis R: inque S: corrected by the addition of *his* above the line: this gave rise to inque his Dδ: in hiisque G_2Ld.
414. 5 antecellant RDEZpq: S at first wrote antecedant and then corrected to antecellant. antecedant is the reading of G_2Ld, while G_1 wrote antecedunt.
33 exoppugnanda R: oppugnanda SDG_3: expugnanda pδ.
415. 37 ornari RHE: ornare SDpδ.
417. 28 qui hoc R: qui haec S.
420. 28 quamobrem R: quemadmodum SDG_3K.
33 existimabam R: aestimabam SD.
422. 34 tuendisque R: tuendis SDG_3λKZ: tuendis conservandisque δ.
36 acceperat R: acceperant S.
423. 16 referant S: referatur R.
19 tum R: tunc S.
24 sese antea...cumque eum. These words are represented by three blank lines in R: the same omission occurs in SD Par. 7777 KZ but with no indication of a lacuna.
424. 3 est hoc RG_1q (hoc est S with very faint marks of transposition) G_2Ld.
9 nudata (unmistakably) R: uti data SD: et nudata G_1: ultum data G_2Ld: nuda pq.
13 commonefaceret Sp: commefaceret R.
14 is R: his S: hiis G_3: iste δ.
26 cum L. fratre R: cum fratre L. SG_3λ et Cuiacianus.
425. 5 istius R: illius SD.
17 labore meo multo SG_3λ: multo labore meo R.
426. 1 Syracusanorum ipsorum SLdλKZ for ips. syr. R.
11 scumas R: spumas S.
28 antea iam ab aliis R: iam antea aliis SG_3.
427. 21 at Spδ: ac G_3: om. R.
428. 7 mihi ante est iudices Rδ: ante est mihi (om. iudices) SDG_3KZ. Cf. Madvig, I. 365.
429. 13 sed et fortis SG_3KZ.
34 after bello R has ·K· for caput. This appears in S as ·r· out of which D makes ·r̊· while G_{12}λ give bello R.

430. 3 et vehemens SλG$_2$ Par. 7777.

16 praesidia in Sicilia SG$_3\lambda$K. To this transposition add 431. 1 allatus esset ad eum SG$_3\lambda$: 431. 3 ad se vocari SG$_2\delta$: 431. 26 praetore Verre SG$_3\lambda$q: 431. 37 vocata est SG$_3\delta$: 438. 18 longitudo noctis SG$^3\lambda$: 444. 27 clam dederunt pecuniae SG$_3$: 446. 19 ex ipsorum SG$_3$KZ (for ipsorum ex Rδ): 446. 12 tibi non tuo pretio SG$_3\lambda$: 446. 23 amiciorem esse quam populo Romano SG$_3$: stare gratis SG$_3$: 450. 27 spolia provinciae SG$_{12}$: 446. 13 sermones de se SG$_3\lambda$ against de se sermones R. Here it is to be noted that the first hand in R and also p omit se, which is an argument for believing that the collocation is rightly given in R, se having fallen out before sermone. 474. 22 in hostium loco R: in loco hostium S: here V can be cited in support of R, while the transposition of S is repeated in KZ.

431. 33 SG$_3$ agree in giving ipse quaerit instead of ille quaerit. Lambinus suggested iste.

433. 17 ad fortunas omnium R: ad omnium fortunas SG$_3$: ad om. G$_1\delta$.

436. 3 Here SD omit maximae against RG$_3$DZ. The variants may be exhibited:

honestissimae (ę S: e D) civitatis honestissimum SD (cf. 292. 7):

honestissimae maximae civ. hon. RG$_3$KZ:

honestissimum civitatis honestissimae pδ (cf. 471. 29: 473. 25). See *Am. Journ. Phil.* XXVI. p. 431, note.

440. 1 for extra R gives ex: om. S.

10 tamen R and (in mg. as variant) D: tum SD.

22 a foro SDKZq: foro Rp Par. 4588.

443. 18 id quod SG$_3\lambda$.

19 te om. SG$_3\lambda$.

444. 6 et his p Par. 4588: sed iis R: sed his S pr., dein corr.: sed is, ut DK: et is δ.

447. 8 remisse R: remississe S with second s subpunctuated

448. 8 R's impossible reading auctorem interpretem commeatum does not occur in S.

14 e lege Rλ: ex lege Sδ.

450. 29 praebuere R: p̄buer̄t SD.

453. 26 quo R: q^{em} or q^{om} S: quem rell.: quamobrem G_1.

454. 13 Here and twice immediately below R keeps the form maritumos, although in the first place the u is subpunctuated. S has maritimos.

34 ex remorum Rλ: et extremorum SG_3.

455. 4 quin VR: qui non SG_{12}: the compendium in S is q'n̄.

456. 2 ideo se securi SDG_3: ideo esse curi R: ideo securi Par. 4588 δ.

17 coarguare R: arguare SDG_2.

458. 28 litore R: in litore SD.

461. 34 quod Cleomenes non R and so pr S: quod Cleomenes nisi corr. SDδ. Here S at first wrote n̄ and then corrected to $\overset{i}{n}$.

466. 30 auctoribusque R: auctoritatibusque S.

467. 13 for animadvertere Vp 4588 A RSD give animum adverti: aīadūti K: animum advertere Z.

17 quam ut R: quam SDKZ.

468. 6 illum ipsum R: ipsum SDKZ.

ibid. illum R: om. SD.

31 nec senectus nec hospitii SG_3λ.

470. 18 etiam illud RK: illud etiam SDG_2LdZ.

471. 13 suarum furturum R: suarum fortunarum S for suorum furtorum p.

31 usitatum (quite plainly) R: is ita tum SG_{12}KZ.

472. 16 non ut tam R: non ut tantum SDG_2K. In the margin D makes the necessary correction to non vitam, and Z non ut tm̄ vitam.

23 morxit extremo R: mori extremo S.

473. 1 decusis R^1: decussis R^2: decursis SG_3.

5 lacrumarum R: lacrimaretur Sδ.

16 Here instead of ex ipso illo R has ex ipro illo while S gives ex his p illo.

33 Here R omits the cum in front of Heracleensem: both words are omitted in SG_3.

476. 32 quetui for quaestui R. Here S gives nostrisque tui.

477. 1 Here for illa communia S has illa crimina and is followed by DKZ.

479. 1 cum tibi haec diceret R: cum diceret tibi haec SDG_3.
8 ab (a δ) quaestore et ab legato Rδ: ab legato et quaestore SDG_3.

480. 6 for innata R has inta. SG_3 have ita.

482. 25 quae ex Alexandria R: quae Alexandria SD.

483. 26 istis defensoribus tuis R: istis tuis defensoribus SDG_3.
28 Here R writes without any sign of correction quasise arbitrium: S gives the true reading quas ipse ad arbitrium and is followed by DG_2. This is a very important instance and might be cited with a few others, such as 471. 31, to show that notwithstanding the many resemblances that can be quoted S is not derived from either the 1st or the 2nd hand in R.

484. 10 Here S is followed by $DG_2\lambda$ in the sequence quot bella arbitramini maiores etc. instead of quot bella maiores...arbitramini R.
37 Here R gives supplicium without any correction by the second hand. S has supplicio.

485. 4 defensionis SDG_3 for dissensionis.
17 In this passage R originally wrote cui civis suplici and this is the reading of p. Thereafter the second hand added i above the line to make suplicii. S on the contrary gives cui civi supplicanti which may be right (suplecanti $G_2\lambda$). Ld gives cui supplicanti omitting civi, while the shameless corrector in G_1 writes cui tum supplicanti.

485. 36 Hic vide quam me sis usurus aequo. Here the reading of R is quam mesurus ęquo. That of S is somewhat of a puzzle: quā m hefur' ęquo. This D writes out fully quā inhesurus ęquo. Above the line in S an alternative for inhesurus is suggested which seems to be es usus.

486. 31 quibus illo R: qui illo $SG_3\lambda$.

488. 10 refixisset R: refrixissit S: refrixisset G_3.

489. 6 It may be worth while noting that at the great lacuna in Book v. (489. 6) R has hac non ad eos, whereas SDG_1Z give ac non ad eos. The work of a corrector is apparent in the reading of G_2 and K, the former of which gives at si non ad eos, the latter ac si

non ad eos,—the si having been inserted from the immediate sequence.

494. 14 Here R omits ex homoeoteleuto the words quae ad iudicium. S has these words, but strangely enough omits the first iudicium, following extra.

17 desistas et illa. Here the reading of R is deistas et illa. S gives de ista sed et illa with a variant above the line sistas for istas. D was not only a faithful but also an intelligent copyist, and could recognise a correction when he saw it: D gives desistas. G_3 on the other hand and also the Cuiacianus in their anxiety to include everything give desistas ista sed et illa.

27 Here the influence of S upon the tradition of G_3 is evidenced by the fact that whereas both R and S have et in omni, the in is subpunctuated in S and disappears altogether in G_3 which give et omni.

495. 32 putaret R: putavit SDKZpδ[1].

496. 10 tantum tibi $SG_3\lambda$ for tantumne.

22 suis usque SDG_1Z: suisque R: usque G_2K.

497. 26 quoius iste R: qüo uiſ iste S, which also gives in the margin the correct reading cuius iste. The faithful and intelligent writer of D accepts the correction and inserts cuius iste in his text, but takes care to preserve in his margin the original reading of S.

36 quam item R: quam ^{item} iste S: here D and G_3 give quam item iste, whereas pδ have quam iste.

498. 12 for aliqua R has aitqua: SD have altaque.

[1] The agreement in such important passages of the majority of the later codd. with S rather than R is a proof that the tradition contained in S influenced the later text more than that contained in R. Here are a few other examples:—

397. 18 ea R: om. SG_3KZ.

405. 11 already quoted in divergences between S and R.

447. 10 illam R: om. $SG_3\lambda KZ$.

430. 9 Here for quando S has qnō. This is copied somewhat doubtfully by D as quō which also appears in G_2. On the other hand $G_1L\delta K$ give quomodo.

450. 6 quoius R: ^{e}quis S: quaevis λG_1 (eius $G_2L\delta$).

466. 19 R has respondis^{t}: S on the other hand gives what seems to be the true reading respondet and is followed by DG_3.

371. 27 ex foedere debuisti R p edd.: debuisti ex foedere SDG_3KZ.

26 R gives improvissimam: the correct reading improbissimam hitherto attributed to a conjectural emendation in G_3 is found in SD as well as in the Harleian MSS. KZ.

28 inutilis R: initis SD: invisitis edd.

29 exigendumque R: exiundumque VSDG$_1$Z: exeundumque G$_2$K.

32 initia R: inocia S.

499. 1 isto uno R: uno isto SDG$_3$λKZ.

498. 28 Here non is omitted in R without any sign of a correction and is rightly supplied in S.

W. PETERSON.

Note. Reference may be permitted to the paper entitled "The Vatican Codex of Cicero's Verrines" which appeared in the *American Journal of Philology,* Vol. XXVI. No. 4, pp. 410—436: also to the summary of the general results of my investigations given on the concluding pages of that article.

W. P.

CORRUPTION OF THE TEXT OF SENECA.

In the new edition, by Karl Hosius, of the treatise *de beneficiis*, a luckless guess of Moritz Haupt's has crept into the text.

Hosius reads (I 9 3): rusticus, inhumanus ac mali moris et inter matronas abominandus conuicio est, si quis coniugem suam in sella prostare uetuit et uulgo admissis inspectoribus uehi perspicuam undique.

The critical reader will at once be arrested by the uncouth phrase *abominandus conuicio est.* Instinct will tell him, and tradition, as embodied in the new *Thesaurus*[1] (I col. 122—4), will confirm the verdict, that *abominandus* is self-sufficient, and needs no prop like the instrumental ablative *conuicio.* Turning to the critical note, he will be relieved by finding that no authority supports the clumsy combination. The note is: abhominanda conditio **N** ab(h)ominand(a)e condicionis $\mathbf{N^2O}$ *corr. Haupt.*

Haupt's conjecture may be seen in the third volume (Lips. Hirzel, 1876) of his *opuscula*, p. 476:

"in libro Nazariano a prima manu scriptum est *abominanda conditio*, altera inde fecit *abominandae conditionis*, quod qui scripsit in mutata orationis forma iure haesit, probabilem sententiam non effecit, neque Bentleius recte putauit nonnulla excidisse."

Haupt goes on to vindicate the spelling of *conuicium* with a *c.*

If he had deigned to consult that admirable scholar, J. Fr. Gronovius. he would have learnt the true meaning of *condicio*, and not have been spellbound by the corrector of **N**.

[1] Haupt's *Verballhornung* is given in the *Thesaurus*, but the reading of N is added in brackets.

"Aurea lectio, quam Naz. a manu prima habuit: *abominanda conditio est*: quod et percepit Gruterus. Quintilianus declam. 257 [p. 52, l. 1 - 5, ed. Ritter] *sed neque in me ille probauit aliud, quam pietatem. uidit fletus meos, uidit totius animi atque etiam corporis defectionem: sic homini, inter principes nostrae ciuitatis numerando, coepi bona esse condicio.*

In his *Obseruationes* (l. I c. 6, p. 37, ed. Frotscher) Gronovius speaks at greater length of our passage, and confutes, by anticipation, Haupt's reasoning:

"*abominanda condicio est.* Haec est optimi codicum Nazar. scriptura, sola Senecae, ut aduertit Gruterus in appendice Notarum, et unicae meracaeque suauitatis: quam qui non caperent audaculi,...interpolarunt, substituto: *abominandae condicionis est.* At ipsum hoc, o boni, et multo Latinius exprimit uetus, *abominanda condicio est.* en cultissimos duos Hispanos Hispano cultissimo adsertores [here Gronovius cites Quintil. decl., explaining the last words *coepi bona esse condicio*] hoc est, coepi aestimari dignus, qui ab eo filiae maritus legerer. Martialis, lib. III epigr. 33 [1 2]:

Ingenuam malo, sed, si tamen illa negetur,
libertina mihi proxima condicio est.

id est, libertinam mulierem, secunda condicione, si prima condicio, id est, ingenua mulier, negetur, mihi nubere uolo: libertinam nancisci secundam condicionem duco. Rursum lib. V epigr. 17 [1 2]:

Dum proauos atauosque refers et nomina magna,
dum tibi noster eques sordida condicio est.

dum nos equites tibi sordida condicio sumus, dum nubere uiro ex nostro ordine, nimirum equiti, uile ac sordidum tibi uidetur. Agnoscis non esse admittendum Scaligeri *equus*: sic enim de solo Martiali capiendum foret: at non equitem illa unum modo, sed equestrem omnem ordinem spernebat: tanti fastidii, tanti supercilii erat[1]."

[1] For this sense of *condicio* see my note on Cic. Phil. II § 99. Plaut. Stich. 51, trin. 455. Ter. hec. 241. Cic. p. Clu. § 42. Sen. in Aug. c. D. VI 10 (I 269, 23 Dombart). Suet. Cl. 26. Our English *match*, the French *parti* (and kindred words in German, Dutch, Italian), are used in the same way.

Haupt's *opuscula* were published after his death. Had the editors allowed themselves to refer to Gronovius in a note, Hosius in all likelihood would have escaped the trap which they laid for him.

It would have been well for Haupt's reputation if he had been able to revise his own work. Madvig, on the other hand, the *autodidakt* (as he called himself in a memorable conversation which I had with him at Leyden thirty years ago) should have submitted his conjectures to some friend more at home in early and late prose, and also in poetry both Greek and Latin.

For example: no verse in Juvenal is more certain in text, or easier of interpretation (see Duff's note), than

I 144 *hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus.*

Nevertheless, Madvig's unhappy conjecture, *infestata*, has darkened the meaning to readers leaning more on authority than on sound judgement. Yet a very slight acquaintance with the *opuscula* and *aduersaria* will teach us to recognise frankly the great Dane's limitations.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

STOICA FRUSTULA.

I PROPOSE to start with a perplexing passage in M. Aurel. x 7, the elucidation of which is closely connected with that of certain parallels in Plutarch and Philo. Marcus warns us not to be discontented with that invariable law of the universe, by which its parts are liable to dissolution and decay. These processes are nothing more than a return to the constituent elements, which are reabsorbed into the universal reason. Moreover, in our own bodies the parts which perish, whether solid or spiritual (*πνευματικόν*), are not original in the sense of having been received at birth. *πᾶν γὰρ τοῦτο ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν σιτίων καὶ τοῦ ἑλκομένου ἀέρος τὴν ἐπιῤῥοὴν ἔλαβεν. τοῦτο οὖν, ὃ ἔλαβε, μεταβάλλει, οὐχ ὃ ἡ μήτηρ ἔτεκεν.* In other words, physical decay does not affect the permanence of the *ψυχή*, for to the *γένεσις* of the *ψυχή* (*ψύχωσις* XII 24) the words *ὃ ἡ μήτηρ ἔτεκεν* undoubtedly point: see Chrysippus ap. Plut. *Sto. rep.* 41, p. 1053 D *γίνεσθαι μὲν γάρ φησι τὴν ψυχήν, ὅταν τὸ βρέφος ἀποτεχθῇ, καθάπερ στομώσει τῇ περιψύξει τοῦ πνεύματος μεταβαλόντος* (von Arnim, II 806). The Stoics, it will be remembered, derived *ψυχή* from *ψῦξις*, the cooling influence of the outer air. Then follow the disputed words:—*ὑπόθου δ', ὅτι ἐκείνῳ σε λίαν προσπλέκει τῷ ἰδίως ποιῷ, οὐδὲν ὄντι οἶμαι πρὸς τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον.* So the text is printed by Stich, who substitutes from A *ἐκείνῳ* for the vulgate *ἐκεῖνο*. But, since the order of the words is decisive against taking *ἐκείνῳ* with *τῷ ἰδίως ποιῷ*, Dr Rendall, who discussed this passage at some length in *Journ. Phil.* XXIII 151—153, proposes to alter *σε λίαν προσπλέκει* to *σὺ λίαν προσπλέκῃ* (passive), translating:—'But even admitting that you are intimately bound up with that (sc. the changeable assimilated

περικείμενον) in (or by) your individuality, that does not affect the present question.' The objection to this rendering, apart from the change involved, is that in making the ἰδίως ποιόν, which, as will presently appear, is the principle of fixity and permanence, the source or instrument of our mutability, it is not in accordance with Stoic teaching. But, if we retain ἐκεῖνο, it is easy to translate:—'And be assured that this (sc. ὃ ἡ μήτηρ ἔτεκεν) really unites you to your individuality, which I think has no connexion with the present subject of discussion (sc. τὸ πεφυκέναι μεταβάλλειν).' This interpretation was given long ago by Wyttenbach, as may be seen from his notes to Bake's Posidonius, p. 269[1]. The Stoic doctrine, to which Marcus here alludes, was framed to meet the old logical puzzle known as ὁ αὐξανόμενος, or how far is growth destructive of identity? Chrysippus, who devoted a special treatise to the subject, traces the statement of the dilemma back to Epicharmus (fr. 160 Kaibel, Plut. *comm. not.* 44 p. 1083 A). The Stoic solution, if it deserves the name, was to treat man—and every existing thing—as a complex duality consisting of οὐσία and ποιότης, of which οὐσία is incapable of increase or diminution but continually shifting, while ποιότης the principle of identity is permanent but subject to increase or diminution. This paradox is attacked by Plutarch (l.c. p. 1083 D):—ὡς δύο ἡμῶν ἕκαστός ἐστιν ὑποκείμενα, τὸ μὲν οὐσία τὸ δὲ ποιότης· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀεὶ ῥεῖ καὶ φέρεται, μήτ' αὐξόμενον μήτε μειούμενον μήθ' ὅλως οἷόν ἐστι διαμένον, τὸ δὲ διαμένει καὶ αὐξάνεται καὶ μειοῦται, καὶ πάντα πάσχει τἀναντία θατέρῳ, συμπεφυκὸς καὶ συνηρμοσμένον καὶ συγκεχυμένον καὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῇ αἰσθήσει μηδαμοῦ παρέχον ἅψασθαι. Especially illustrative of Marcus are the words in E:—οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ᾐσθόμεθα διττοὶ γεγονότες καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀεὶ ῥέοντες μέρει τῷ δ' ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄχρι τελευτῆς οἱ αὐτοὶ διαμένοντες. Cf. Posidon. ap. Stob. *ecl.* I, p. 178, 9 foll. Wachsm., Alex. Aphrod. *quaest.* I 5, p. 13, 10 foll. Bruns. Basing upon this the axiom that one ἰδίως ποιός cannot belong to two οὐσίαι Chrysippus employed it to wage war upon the Academic ἀπαραλλαξία (Plut. *comm. not.* 36 p. 1077 C): for it is

[1] It is perhaps worth while to point out that Dr Rendall's text admits of a similar rendering.

obvious that, if this principle is taken as axiomatic, there cannot be two things absolutely identical, such as two eggs or pigeons or figs. Again, since conversely it is impossible *δύο ἰδίως ποιοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας εἶναι*, he went so far as to assert that if two men, Dion and Theon, are assumed to be absolutely alike except in the fact that Theon is short of one foot, the axiom requires us to say that, if Dion also loses his foot, Theon (not Dion) *ἔφθαρται* (pseudo-Philo *de mund. incorr.* 14 p. 501 M. 236 B.). But this gave a handle to his opponents, who applied the reasoning to the *κόσμος*, regarded as *τέλειος* and therefore corresponding to Dion. Then the world-soul will represent Theon, and, if the *κόσμος* is stripped of everything *σωματοειδές*, the result will be either that the world-soul perishes or that the *κόσμος* is *ἄφθαρτος*, either of which alternatives is on Stoic principles impossible (pseudo-Philo l.c.). Now, if Chrysippus argued on these lines, it is incredible that he should also have maintained what Plutarch seems to ascribe to him *ἐπὶ μιᾶς οὐσίας δύ' ἰδίως γενέσθαι ποιοὺς καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν ἕνα ποιὸν ἰδίως ἔχουσαν ἐπιόντος ἑτέρου δέχεσθαι καὶ διαφυλάττειν ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέρους* (l.c. p. 1077 D). Yet these words are printed within inverted commas by the editors of Plutarch, and are recognised as belonging to Chrysippus by J. von Arnim, who in his recent edition of Stoic fragments puts them in immediate juxtaposition to the excerpt from pseudo-Philo (vol. II nos. 396 and 397). A controversial statement of this kind demands the closest scrutiny, and, if c. 14 of the treatise *de incorruptibilitate mundi* be compared in its entirety with c. 36 of the *de communibus notitiis*, it will be apparent that they are ultimately derived from a common, probably Peripatetic, original. The object of this writer was to controvert the Stoic doctrine of the destructibility of the world by establishing its inconsistency with the axiom that two *ποιοί* cannot belong to the same *οὐσία*. The argument in pseudo-Philo is much fuller and more precise, and I conclude that Plutarch, aiming at a more striking rhetorical effect, has unfairly represented that which was alleged to be the logical consequence of the *ἐκπύρωσις* doctrine as a paradox to which Chrysippus was expressly committed. In fact this seems to be

admitted by the particle which introduces the actual quotation from Chrysippus:—*λέγει γοῦν Χρύσιππος κ.τ.λ.* (v. Arnim II 1074). If I am right, the extract no. 396 in von Arnim's edition should be regarded not as a fragment of Chrysippus but as an inference of Plutarch.

Having had occasion to discuss certain passages in the *moralia*, I will endeavour to remove a blemish which continues to disfigure the text of *consol. ad uxor.* 10 p. 611 F. The writer is speaking of the transmigration of souls, following on the lines laid down in the *Phaedo*, and makes it a complaint against old age that the soul is depressed and its heavenly aspirations are dulled by long association with the body. *ἡ δὲ* (sc. *ψυχή*) *ληφθεῖσα μὲν.....ὑπὸ κρειττόνων ἔχεται, καθάπερ ἐκ καμπῆς ὑγρᾶς καὶ μαλθακῆς ἀναχαιτίσασα πρὸς ὃ πέφυκεν.* Wyttenbach is no doubt right in his view that the lacuna after *ληφθεῖσα μὲν* contained a description of the soul which has spent only a short time in its corporeal environment, but I do not suppose that anyone will be satisfied with his rendering[1] of the concluding words:—'tanquam e molli flexu metae renitens ad suam naturam.' The use of *ἀναχαιτίζειν* (for which however cf. *vit. Ant.* 21, *Is. et Osir.* 55, p. 373 D) and a recollection of the familiar comparison of human life to a race-course may have helped to perpetuate *καμπῆς*, but, when attention is once drawn to the matter, it will, I think, be obvious that *κάμπης* should be substituted:—'like a butterfly shaking itself free from the supple and yielding caterpillar into its natural element.' The conception of the butterfly-soul is recognised by anthropologists, and *ψυχή* was the name actually given to a certain species of butterfly. If there is any remaining doubt, it will perhaps be removed by a comparison of *quaest. conv.* II 3, p. 636 C *ὡς δὲ κάμπη γίγνεται τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτ' ἐκπαγεῖσα διὰ ξηρότητα καὶ περιρραγεῖσα ἕτερον πτερωθὲν δι' αὐτῆς τὴν καλουμένην ψυχὴν μεθίησι.* There the process is more fully described, and the intermediate chrysalis stage is introduced (contrast *διὰ ξηρότητα* with *ὑγρᾶς*).

That the Stoic argument, which is refuted by Alexander of

[1] Strictly speaking, the version is that of Xylander, which Wyttenbach only cursorily revised.

Aphrodisias in his treatise *de fato*, belongs to Chrysippus has been shown by A. Gercke (*Chrysippea*, 1885), although he has not always been successful in disentangling the underlying Stoic element from the Peripatetic framework. Chrysippus, then, attempted to reconcile the conflicting claims of free-will and necessity by interpreting *τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν* not as those things *ὧν καὶ τὰ ἀντικείμενα δυνάμεθα*, but simply as implying that the movements produced by fate when applied to the sphere of living action require the instrumentality of impulse and assent (c. 13). In order to prove that the common view of *ἐφ' ἡμῖν* is erroneous, he pointed out that it involves the denial of a capacity for virtue to the wise man (c. 26 p. 196, 24 foll. Bruns). To this Alexander's reply is that such capacity may be attributed to him, because, although he is now incapable of error, he formerly had the choice between virtue and vice (c. 32). The words which follow must be set out in full:—*ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θεῶν οὐκ εἴη ἂν τὸ εἶναι τοιούτοις (ὅπερ ἦν καὶ αὐτὸ ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπορουμένοις), ὅτι γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει <τὸ> τοιοῦτον, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν οὕτως ὑπαρχόντων ἐπ' αὐτῷ. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἐκείνων ἀγαθὰ τίμιά τε καὶ μακαριστά, μεῖζόν τι τῶν ἐπαινετῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔχοντα, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν ἀνεπίδεκτός ἐστιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κτήσει τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπαινούμεθα, ὅτι, τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἐπιδεκτικῆς οὔσης καὶ τοῦ χειρονος, οὐκ ὠκνήσαμεν πρὸς τὰ βελτίω, καίτοι τῶν μὲν χειρόνων ἀνιδρωτὶ καὶ χωρὶς καμάτων περιγίγεσθαι δοκούντων, τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς μετὰ πόνων τε καὶ μετὰ καμάτων καὶ πολλῶν ἱδρώτων.*

The passage is given as it appears in Bruns' edition, except that in l. 9 *καίτοι* has been substituted for *καί*, after Gercke. Agreeing with Gercke (fr. 132) that the substance of the extract is Chrysippean, I do not know what he makes of the words (l. 3) *ὅτι γάρ κ.τ.λ.* and propose to substitute *οὐ* for *ὅτι*, interpreting as follows:—'But in the case of the gods this notion (the capacity for good or evil) no longer applies—and this very point is one of the objections which they raise (scil. to the ordinary view of *τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν*: cf. c. 26 p. 196, 13 foll., to which point the argument recurs)—for this capacity is not in their nature, and nothing which is of such a character (scil. *ὥστε μὴ ἐν τῇ φύσει τινὸς εἶναι*) is in anyone's power.' The

gist of the sentence which follows is:—'And this is the reason why we do not praise the gods, because their nature is originally incapable (of evil)': cf. c. 34 ad fin. In l. 6 after *αὐτῶν* Orelli proposed to insert *τοῦ χείρονος*, and something is certainly wanted. Perhaps *κακῶν* has fallen out after *αὐτῶν*: anyhow, *ἀνεπίδεκτος* suggests a Stoic original: cf. Cleanth. ap. Sext. *Math.* IX 91 (fr. 51 of my ed.) *τὸ δὲ τέλειον...ἂν ὑπάρχοι... παντὸς κακοῦ ἀνεπίδεκτον, τοῦτο δὲ οὐ διοίσει θεοῦ.* Diog. L. VII 147, Sext. *Math.* IX 33. I take it that Chrysippus's objection to the ordinary view of *ἐφ' ἡμῖν* was enforced by referring to the gods as admittedly incapable of evil and therefore not proper objects of praise (cf. Arist. *Eth.* I 12 3 etc.), and by claiming that *ἀρετή* must be *ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς*. And it is significant that according to the Stoics the virtue of men and of the gods is the same: Alex. *de fato* 36 p. 211, 13 ff., Themist. *or.* II 27 C (Cleanth. fr. 83), Mayor on Cic. *n. d.* III 38. But von Arnim (II no. 985) deals quite differently with ll. 1—3. For *τῶν θεῶν* he substitutes *τοῖς θεοῖς* and *ὅτι γάρ ἐστιν* is altered to *ὅτι πάρεστιν*[1]. The meaning then becomes:—

Nothing which is *ἐν τῇ φύσει τινός* is *ἐπ' αὐτῷ*,

But *τὸ φρονίμοις εἶναι* is in the nature of the gods,

∴ *τὸ φρονίμοις εἶναι* is not *ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς*.

This leaves the nature of the Chrysippean *ἀπορία* undetermined, and I will merely say that as an argument against the Stoics the syllogism is inconclusive. For they would have denied the major premiss, as may be seen from c. 13, which warrants the inference *τὰς διὰ τῶν θεῶν ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης γιγνομένας φρονίμους ἐνεργείας τε καὶ κινήσεις ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εἶναι*: see p. 182, 12. At any rate, it is common ground that Alexander met the *ἀπορία* by refusing to admit that *ἀρετή* is *ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς*. But so far as concerns particular acts, when contrasted with a habit already formed, he declines to restrict their liberty of choice either for the gods or for the wise man (p. 204, 21—28).

[1] Nothing turns on the question whether we should read *οὐκέτ' ἂν* <*εἴη*> with von Arnim, or *οὐκ εἴη ἂν* with Bruns.

We are on more familiar ground in inviting attention to certain points in the summary of Chrysippean theology given in Cic. *n. d.* I 39. In the list of objects specified as divine appears *communemque rerum naturam uniuersam atque omnia continentem.* So the MSS, but the editions after Heindorf read *uniuersitatemque* for *uniuersam atque*, relying on the subsequent occurrence of *uniuersitatemque rerum qua omnia continerentur.* I will presently give reasons to show why the latter passage should not be allowed to contaminate the former, but, if we exclude it from our consideration, I think it would be a simpler remedy to bracket *uniuersam* as a gloss than, with Diels *Doxogr.* p. 545 a 18, to eject *uniuersam atque omnia continentem* as interpolated from the context. Thus *continentem* agrees with *naturam*, and we get an exact parallel to Diog. L. VII 148 *φύσιν δέ ποτε μὲν ἀποφαίνονται τὴν συνέχουσαν τὸν κόσμον.* Cleom. *circul. doctr.* I 1 (II 546 von Arnim) *οὔτ' ἂν ὑπὸ φυσεως οἷόν τ' ἦν συνέχεσθαι καὶ διοικεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον.* Similarly Galen *περὶ πλήθους* 3, VII p. 525 K. (II 439 von Arnim) *καὶ γὰρ οἱ μάλιστα εἰσηγησάμενοι τὴν συνεκτικὴν δύναμιν, ὡς οἱ Στωϊκοί, τὸ μὲν συνέχον ἕτερον ποιοῦσι, τὸ συνεχόμενον δὲ ἄλλο· τὴν μὲν γὰρ πνευματικὴν οὐσίαν τὸ συνέχον, τὴν δὲ ὑλικὴν τὸ συνεχόμενον.* From pseudo-Arist. *de mund.* 6 p. 397 b 9 *λοιπὸν δὲ δὴ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων συνεκτικῆς αἰτίας κεφαλαιωδῶς εἰπεῖν* it is manifest that, if *uniuersitas* is in place at all, it is as that which *continetur* not as that which *continet*[1]. This leads us to a closer consideration of *uniuersitatemque rerum qua omnia continerentur*, in which the latter words are a translation of *ὑφ' οὗ συνέχεται τὸ πᾶν* Alex. *de mixt.* 3, p. 216, 16 Bruns, but there the antecedent is *πνεῦμα διῆκον* in accordance with what the parallels already cited have established as normal. In fact, I know of nothing in the Greek authorities which would justify *uniuersitas omnia continens*, and it is not easy to apprehend the significance of

[1] This treatise cannot be the work of Chrysippus, as has been sometimes supposed, or of any other Stoic, although it is occasionally coloured with Stoic phraseology. In this connexion it is sufficient to point out that the author maintains the eternity of the world, regards the elements as five in number, and argues at length against pantheism.

'the totality by which the universe is kept together.' This is the same conclusion at which Krische long since arrived (*Forschungen* p. 470):—'wir haben die Wendung sorgfältig geprüft, aber weder einen Stoischen Terminus, der zum Grunde liegen könnte, noch eine Ciceronische *explicatio* eines Stoischen Begriffs in ihr zu erblicken vermocht.' Whereas, however, Krische boldly declared for the excision of the whole clause[1], I am inclined to put in a plea in favour of milder treatment and to urge the claim of *unitatem* to take the place of *uniuersitatem*. The evidence may start with [Galen] *εἰ ζῷον τὸ κατὰ γαστρός* 1, XIX p. 160 K. *τὸ διῆκον ἔχον διὰ πάντων αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ πρωτόγονον πνεῦμα, ὅπερ καλοῦσι παῖδες φιλοσόφων ἢ ψυχὴν ἢ μονάδα [ἢ ἄτομον] ἢ πῦρ ἢ ὁμωνύμως τῷ γένει πνεῦμα τὸ πρῶτον*, where von Arnim (II 638) justly remarks:—'*μονάδα* potuit scriptor Stoicae disputationi immiscere, *ἄτομον* non potuit.' *ἑνότης* is used in Plut. *comm. not.* 49 p. 1085 D to express the unity of organic or inorganic bodies (*ἡνωμένα*) as contrasted with aggregates (*ἐκ διεστώτων*) or artificial units (*ἐκ συναπτομένων*). So Seneca *N. Q.* II 2. 4 says that in using the phrase *unita corpora* he must be taken to refer *ad naturam corporis nulla ope externa sed unitate sua cohaerentis*. But, since the *κόσμος* is a *ζῷον*, the unity of the macrocosm is similar to that of the microcosm: Sext. *Math.* IX 130 *ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ διὰ τῶν λίθων καὶ διὰ τῶν φυτῶν πεφοίτηκέ τι πνεῦμα, ὥστε ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς συνενοῦσθαι*, Plut. *de def. or.* 13 p. 416 F *τὴν ἑνότητα διαλύσει καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ παντός*, ib. 26 p. 424 E *τοῦδε γὰρ τοῦ κόσμου μίαν ἐκ πλειόνων σωμάτων καὶ ἀνομοίων ἑνότητα καὶ σύνταξιν ἔχοντος*, Cleomedes *u. s.* *οὔτε μὴ ὑφ' ἑνὸς τόνου συνεχομένου αὐτοῦ* (scil. *τοῦ κόσμου*) *καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος μὴ δι' ὅλου ὄντος συμφυοῦς*. Perhaps most of all to the point is Alex. *de anim. mant.* p. 131, 8 Bruns (II 448 v. Arn.) *ἔπειτα εἴπερ ἕν τι συνέχει τόν τε*

[1] 'So kündigen sich ohne Widerrede obige Worte als ein reines Glossem an, welches entweder noch mit der frühern *κοινὴ πάντων φύσις* zusammenhing und hierher verschlagen wurde, oder, was mir glaublicher, nach Aufzählung der bestimmt geordneten Theile der Welt und nach Aufstellung der zu oberst liegenden Körper, Planeten und Fixsterne, am Ende Alles zusammenfassen wollte, um auf Kosten jener *turba deorum* der geschlossenen Einheit aller Theile ein selbständiges göttliches Leben zu verleihen.'

σύνολον κόσμον ἅμα τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους σωμάτων ἐστί τι ὃ συνέχει.

The immediate task confronting those who attempt to reconstruct the history of Stoicism is that of sifting a mass of material admittedly Stoic, but not expressly referred to the name of an individual teacher or even in many cases to the school itself. A considerable portion of this has been grouped and arranged by von Arnim under the name of Chrysippus, but he does not claim to have proved that it is derived from him either directly or indirectly. There is only a probability that since, broadly speaking, later writers owed their knowledge of Stoicism to the works of Chrysippus or to summaries of them, any testimony which they bear should be traced to the same source. Such a presumption has no application when we find in our authority a plain indication of variety of treatment within the school itself, even though it may fall short of absolute disagreement. But von Arnim did not consider it his province to follow up such distinctions: perhaps rightly he judged it more useful to put together everything which stood in some relation to the system of Chrysippus. 'Itaque,' he says (Praef. p. v), 'iis materiam utilem uolui commodare, qui ex ipsis fragmentis Chrysippi et doctrinae testimoniis profecti, adhibitis etiam obscurioribus uestigiis, de eius philosophia quaerere uellent.' I will endeavour to determine the nature of Chrysippus's contribution in one instance, where the school, while adhering in the main to the principle originally laid down, was not entirely consistent in its elucidation. It should, however, be borne in mind that the evidence is too fragmentary to admit of strict proof, and that, if an advance is to be made, we must be content in the first place with such probable hypotheses as will correlate the known facts. In vol. III no. 712 von Arnim prints a passage from Philo *de plantatione Noë* § 142 II p. 161, 18 Wendl. dealing with the question *εἰ μεθυσθήσεται ὁ σοφός*. After pointing out that *τὸ μεθύειν* has two significations, being either equivalent to *τὸ οἰνοῦσθαι* or to *τὸ ληρεῖν ἐν οἴνῳ*, the extract proceeds, without mentioning any names, to quote three answers as given by different philosophers. Some of those who had handled the question

considered *μεθύειν* in both senses alien to the character of the wise man, as being inconsistent with virtuous action. Others distinguished between *οἰνοῦσθαι* and *ληρεῖν*, approving of the former but disallowing the latter. The language used suffices to establish that both classes are Stoics. After a considerable interval we approach the third answer *ὅτι ὁ σοφὸς μεθυσθήσεται*. Only the first argument adduced, depending on the alleged identity of *οἶνος* and *μέθυ*, is quoted by von Arnim with the remark 'cetera a Chrysippo aliena.' True enough: but it would have been better to omit all reference to the third answer, which belongs to the Peripatetics and is advanced in opposition to the views of the Stoics. This is clear from Stob. *Ecl.* II p. 144, 10 W. *μεθυσθήσεσθαι κατὰ συμπεριφοράς, κἂν εἰ μὴ προηγουμένως*, and it is very unlikely that so keen a controversialist as Chrysippus would have abandoned the position of his comrades. But, if von Arnim has unnecessarily extended his extract in one direction, he would certainly have done well to include part of the chapter which he has omitted. I allude to § 148 p. 163, 5 and especially to the words *φάρμακον δέ, εἰ καὶ οὐ θανάτου, μανίας γοῦν ἄκρατον εἶναι αἴτιον συμβέβηκε* and (a little later) *διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐργασίας μαινομένην ἐκάλεσαν οἱ πρῶτοι, καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατασχέτους γενομένας βάκχας μαινάδας, ἐπεὶ μανίας καὶ παραφροσύνης αἴτιος τοῖς ἁπλήστως ἐμφορουμένοις ὁ οἶνος*. This occurs in the immediate neighbourhood of the Stoic views above referred to, and is at any rate a remarkable illustration of Stob. *floril.* 18, 24 *Χρυσίππου· μικράν φασι μανίαν εἶναι τὴν μέθην* (III 713 Arn.). Putting this aside, we now seek to determine whether Chrysippus disallowed *μεθύειν* in toto or was of that party which conceded to the *σπουδαῖος* a license *εἰς πολυοινίας ἀγῶνα ἐλθεῖν* (Philo l.c.). A secure starting-point is afforded by Diog. L. VII 127 *καὶ μὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν Χρύσιππος μὲν ἀποβλητήν, Κλεάνθης δὲ ἀναπόβλητον· ὁ μὲν ἀποβλητὴν διὰ μέθην καὶ μελαγχολίαν, ὁ δὲ ἀναπόβλητον διὰ βεβαίους καταλήψεις* (III 237 Arn.). The summary is too curt to be satisfactory as an exposition, and the necessary commentary is given by Simplicius *in cat.* 102 A (III 238 Arn.), who is beyond all reasonable doubt describing the views of Chrysippus:—*οἱ*

Στωικοὶ ἐν μελαγχολίαις καὶ κάροις καὶ ληθάργοις καὶ ἐν φαρμάκων λήψεσι συγχωροῦσιν ἀποβολὴν γίνεσθαι μεθ' ὅλης τῆς λογικῆς ἕξεως καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρετῆς, κακίας μὲν οὐκ ἀντεισαγομένης, τῆς δὲ βεβαιότητος χαλωμένης καὶ εἰς ἣν λέγουσιν ἕξιν μέσην οἱ παλαιοὶ μεταπιπτούσης. It should be noted in passing how the words τῆς βεβαιότητος χαλωμένης form a contrast with the βεβαίους καταλήψεις of Cleanthes. Now on general considerations it would appear likely that the rigid uncompromising view of μέθη as ἁμάρτημα and therefore impossible for the wise man with indefectible virtue was that of Zeno (cf. fr. 159 = I 229 Arn.) and Cleanthes, and that the subtlety of Chrysippus was required to meet the objections of Peripateticism—and common sense—by admitting the *suspension* rather than the actual loss of virtue, and by distinguishing the drivellings of drunkenness, which the school intended to reprobate, from the reasonable enjoyment of wine to which even Zeno was not averse (Athen. II 35 F etc.). Observe then that Stob. *Ecl.* II p. 109, 5 W. οὐχ οἷον δὲ μεθυσθήσεσθαι τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα· τὴν γὰρ μέθην ἁμαρτητικὸν περιέχειν, λήρησιν εἶναι <γὰρ> παρὰ τὸν οἶνον, ἐν μηδενὶ δὲ τὸν σπουδαῖον ἁμαρτάνειν, δι' ὃ πάντα κατ' ἀρετὴν ποιεῖν καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης ὀρθὸν λόγον (III 643 Arn.) reflects the attitude of Zeno and Cleanthes, and that βεβαίους καταλήψεις (u. s.) corresponds accurately with παντὰ κατ' ἀρετὴν ποιεῖν κ.τ.λ. Further, it is a warrantable inference that the school definition of μέθη was λήρησις πάροινος, and as such in all probability due to Zeno: cf. Plut. *de garrul.* 4 p. 504 B οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι καὶ ὁριζόμενοι τὴν μέθην λέγουσιν εἶναι λήρησιν πάροινον· οὕτως οὐ ψέγεται τὸ πίνειν, εἰ προσείη τῷ πίνειν τὸ σιωπᾶν· ἀλλ' ἡ μωρολογία μέθην ποιεῖ τὴν οἴνωσιν, *quaest. conu.* VIII pro. 1, p. 716 F τὴν γοῦν μέθην οἱ λοιδοροῦντες φιλόσοφοι λήρησιν πάροινον ἀποκαλοῦσι· τὸ δὲ ληρεῖν οἰδέν ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἢ λόγῳ κενῷ χρῆσθαι καὶ φλυαρώδει κ.τ.λ. Assuming then the equivalence of μέθη and λήρησις, and interpreting the prevalence of φαντασίαι ἀλλόκοτοι in the light of the collapse of λογικὴ ἕξις (testified by Simplicius), we are completely justified, as I contend, in concluding that Diog. L. VII 118 καὶ οἰνωθήσεσθαι μέν, οὐ μεθυσθήσεσθαι δέ (sc. τὸν σπουδαῖον), ἔτι δὲ

οὐδὲ μανήσεσθαι· προσπεσεῖσθαι μέντοι ποτὲ αὐτῷ φαντασίας ἀλλοκότους διὰ μελαγχολίαν ἢ λήρησιν, οὐ κατὰ τὸν τῶν αἱρετῶν λόγον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ φύσιν (III 644 Arn.) is a summary of the views of Chrysippus. Chrysippus, therefore, is in all probability the ultimate source of Plut. *quaest. conu.* III pro. 1, p. 645 A which, after quoting ξ 464 foll., proceeds:—οἰνώσεως ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ μέθης, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, διαφορὰν ὑποδείκνυντος. ᾠδὴ μὲν γὰρ καὶ γέλως καὶ ὄρχησις οἰνωμένοις μετρίως ἔπεισι· τὸ δὲ λαλεῖν καὶ λέγειν, ἃ βέλτιον ἦν σιωπᾶν, παροινίας ἤδη καὶ μέθης ἔργον ἐστί: cf. *de garrul.* 4 p. 503 F, *quaest. conu.* VII 10, 2 p. 715 D. I have very little doubt that it is to Chrysippus also that we owe the parallel distinction which appears in Cic. Tusc. III 11 *ut furor* (μελαγχολία) *in sapientem cadere possit, non possit insania* (μανία).

To sum up, we conclude that Zeno and Cleanthes repudiated μέθη entirely as incompatible with the indefectible virtue and infallible wisdom of the σπουδαῖος, whereas Chrysippus repudiated μέθη in so far as folly was implicitly contained in it, and, while recognising that the σπουδαῖος must participate in drinking-bouts (if there are adequate reasons for incurring the risk), admitted the danger to which his virtue was temporarily exposed and the insecurity of his wisdom in resisting vinous impressions.

A. C. PEARSON.

ARISTOPHANES, *ACHARNIANS* 1093 and 1095.

ΔΙ. *ὀρχηστρίδες, τὰ φίλταθ' Ἁρμοδίου, καλαί.*
ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα σπεῦδε. ΛΑ. *κακοδαίμων ἐγώ.*
ΔΙ. *καὶ γὰρ σὺ μεγάλην ἐπεγράφου τὴν Γοργόνα.*

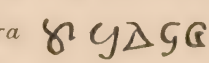
Many scholars have recognised line 1093 as unsatisfactory, though no satisfactory emendation has hitherto been proposed. A messenger has just brought instructions to Lamachus that he must resume his wanderings and guard the passes in the snow against the Boeotians. Another messenger is bringing to Dicaeopolis an invitation to dinner with the priest of Dionysus, and says that all things are now ready, including the various cakes, and, according to the vulgate, "fair dancing-girls, the dearest things of Harmodius." There seems no particular sense or point in calling dancing-girls "the dearest things of Harmodius"; in fact the available evidence rather points in the other direction. In this reference towards the end of the speech it is also natural to suspect an allusion to the famous song Φίλταθ' Ἁρμόδι', *οὔ τί που τέθνηκας* (schol. *Ach.* 980, Athen. 695 B), which came towards the end of the banquet. I would therefore simply re-divide the words and read: *τὰ φίλταθ' Ἁρμόδι', οὐκ ἄλαι*, "there are waiting for you dancing-girls, and the words 'Dearest Harmodius,' not wanderings (as for Lamachus)." (I think that we may keep *τά*, taking it as "the words," and that, though possible, it is not necessary to alter the reading of the MSS. to *τό*.) The words *οὐκ ἄλαι* would then be a parting hit at Lamachus, at whom the whole passage is aimed, as Lamachus evidently feels from his next words. I cannot help thinking that, if Aristophanes meant to write Ἁρμόδι', *οὐκ ἄλαι*, the ordinary post-classical scribe, reading the undivided ΑΡΜΟΔΙΟΥΚΑΛΑΙ, would be more likely to divide it as Ἁρμοδίου *καλαί* than as

'Αρμόδι' οὐκ ἄλαι. Such wrong division in the case of unfamiliar words has been not unfrequently a cause of error in our MSS. of Aristophanes: e.g. in *Ach.* 832, καὶ χαῖρε πόλλ'. ΜΕ. ἀλλ' ἁμὶν οὐκ ἐπιχώριον, where for ἀλλ' ἁμὶν we find ἀλλὰ μὶν R, ἀλλὰ μὲν AB corr. CEPΔ, ἀλλὰ μὴν Γ. The comma after 'Αρμοδίου does not appear in RAEΓ, and seems to be a later addition.

In 1095 the predicative use of μεγάλην seems to be out of place. Dr. Blaydes says the vulgate can only mean, "For the Gorgon you have adopted (as your patron) is a great one." He also finds the imperfect a difficulty. He reads ἐπιγέγραψαι Γοργόνα; but this is surely not palaeographically probable. Instead of μεγάλην I would suggest reading μετ' ἄλην, i.e., "It serves you right; for even after your wandering about on service you still adopted the Gorgon as your patron." In adopting the Gorgon Lamachus could not complain of lack of experience of the wanderings involved in war; even some twenty years before his wanderings had carried him as far as the Euxine, where he commanded thirteen ships in support of Sinope (Plut. *Pericles*, 20). I think the phrase μετ' ἄλην makes the use of the imperfect ἐπεγράφου easier. T and Γ are of course often confused in MSS., and I think that the ordinary scribe with ΜΕΤΑΛΗΝ before him would certainly be tempted to confuse it with the commoner ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ.

R. T. ELLIOTT.

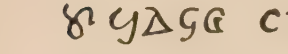
ON AN ORACLE IN PROCOPIUS *DE BELLO GOTHICO* I 7[1].

τότε Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνεμνήσθησαν τοῦ Σιβύλλης ἔπους ὅπερ ἀδόμενον ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ τέρας αὐτοῖς ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ἔλεγε γὰρ τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖνο ὡς ἡνίκα ἂν Ἀφρικὴ ἔχηται, ὁ κόσμος ξὺν τῷ γόνῳ ὀλεῖται. τὸ μέντοι χρηστήριον οὐ τοῦτο ἐδήλου, ἀλλ', ὑπειπὸν ὅτι δὴ αὖθις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις Λιβύη ἔσται, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεῖπεν ὅτι τότε ξὺν τῷ παιδὶ ἀπολεῖται Μοῦνδος. λέγει γὰρ ὧδε· ἀερίσας ἄρτα  ρερι . ἐπεὶ δὲ κόσμος τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ ὁ μοῦνδος δύναται, ᾠόντο ἀμφὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ λόγιον εἶναι.

In 533, 534 Belisarius overthrew the Vandal kingdom in Africa and subjugated the country. In 535 he invaded Sicily, and speedily made himself master of it. In 536 he passed over into Italy, and turned his arms against the Goths. Meanwhile, an army commanded by one Mundus had entered Dalmatia and defeated the Goths in the neighbourhood of Salonae: and now, in the interval between the occupation of Sicily and the invasion of Italy, a detachment of Mundus' army commanded by his son Mauricius was defeated by a Goth force and almost annihilated. Mauricius himself was amongst the slain. On hearing of the disaster, Mundus attacked the enemy and routed them. But the victory was Cadmean.

[1] This paper was communicated to the Cambridge Philological Society 11 May 1905.

Maddened by his private grief, Mundus showed more zeal than discretion in following up his success. He was struck down by one of the fugitives, and with his fall the pursuit ended. "Thereupon," says Procopius, "the Romans called to mind an oracle which had perplexed them in the past, to the effect that 'when Africa is in possession, the world and its offspring will perish.' That however was not what the oracle meant. In reality, premising that Libya would be again subject to the Romans, it went on to say that in those days Mundus with his son would perish. The words are ἀερίσας ἄρτα

 But,

since in the Latin tongue MUNDUS means 'world,' the Romans supposed that the destruction of the world was what the oracle meant."

Now it is plain that the characters which I reproduce from Opsopoeus' *Sibyllina Oracula* 1599 and 1607 p. 431 ought to represent Latin words[1]: and it is equally plain that ἀερίσας ἄρτα represents AFRICA CAPTA. That is to say, the Greek scribe has mistaken a Latin F for a Greek E, a Latin C for a Greek Σ, and a Latin P for a Greek P. Then, not knowing how to deal with the rest of the sentence, he has made a facsimile of it.

I do not know whether any one before Claudius Maltretus of the Jesuit society attempted to explain the mystery: but this scholar, in his edition of Procopius, Paris 1662, gives as the Latin original—AFRICA CAPTA MUNDUS CUM NATO PERIBIT. Gibbon, ch. xli, quotes Maltretus' restoration, but not without a sneer. Cobet, *Mnemosyne* v 364, knowing nothing about Maltretus, restores in exactly the same way, and appends the characteristic remark—"Res certa et manifesta est." And it must be admitted that the restoration is exceedingly plausible. The group of five characters which follows AFRICA CAPTA, with its central D, and the Y-like characters which precede and follow it, might stand for MUNDUS. The group of three

[1] Tracings kindly made for me by my friend Dom E. C. Butler show that Opsopoeus' facsimile adequately represents the Paris MS 1699.

characters which follows might represent CUM. In the ensuing group of four, NAT is unmistakeable. The remaining group of nine clearly begins with PERI. But here a difficulty presents itself. When four of the nine characters in this last group have been accounted for, it is not easy to see how five characters could have grown out of the three Latin letters BIT. Seemingly this difficulty was felt by D. Comparetti, who, in his recent edition, Rome 1895, "regardless of grammar," reads AFRICA CAPTA MUNDUS CUM NATO PERIBUNT.

Let us attempt another solution, beginning at the end with the group of nine characters . I think that Comparetti is right in supposing this to represent PERIBUNT. The final stroke may well represent a Latin T. A Latin N, with its third limb a little curved, especially if the third limb was not accurately joined to the second, might be read as AC, just as in Greek MSS H is sometimes confused with IC. I know too little about Latin palaeography to speculate about the conversion of the Latin BV into an abnormal σ and an elongated ι.

I turn next to the group of four characters which is supposed to represent NATO. The first three are certainly NAT. Now, if the last word is, as I have supposed, PERIBUNT, the words which precede should be either MUNDUS ET NATUS or MUNDUS NATUSQUE: and of the two alternatives I prefer the latter, thinking that the last of the four characters, which in some MSS becomes a ζ, may be a conflation of the compendium for US and a Q representing the conjunction QUE.

Coming next to the group of three . I suspect that the third of these characters is a D with the compendium for US affixed to it, and that the two characters which look like CU represent the single letter M. Now $\overline{\text{MD}}$ is, according to Walther and Wattenbach, a recognized abbreviation for MUNDUS.

We have then for the latter half of the oracle MUNDUS NATUSQUE PERIBUNT. But what are we to make of the group of five,

? Apparently the second and fourth letters are identical. Almost certainly the third letter is D. The fifth letter is not unlike a form of the final T. The initial may well be S. Let us suppose then that this group is SEDET. The verb is quite appropriate: for on several coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, which commemorate the conquest of Judaea and bear the legend IUDAEA CAPTA, Judaea is represented by a female figure seated on the ground. See Madden's *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 184 ff.

In fine, I suppose that the oracle was

AFRICA CAPTA SEDET: MUNDUS NATUSQUE PERIBUNT,

a hexameter line: and such I conceive that it should be, not only on general grounds, but also because Procopius speaks of it as ἀδόμενον.

HENRY JACKSON.

15 *March* 1906.

Lib. spect. 4.

turba grauis paci placidaeque inimica quieti,
quae semper miseras sollicitabat opes,
traducta est, getulis nec cepit harena nocentis,
et delator habet quod dabat exilium.

The parallel of Suet. Tit. 8 'hos (delatores mandatoresque) assidue in foro flagellis ac fustibus caesos ac nouissime *traductos* per amphitheatri *harenam* partim subici ac uenire imperauit, partim in asperrimas insularum auehi' makes it clear that Mr Friedlaender has rightly placed a comma after *traducta est* and that *getulis* must be no dative but something belonging to the next clause: such as Mr Friedlaender's own *cunctos*, which indeed is the only conjecture worth considering. The *Gaetula excepit harena* of Messrs Leo and Dau is out of the question: it disregards Suetonius, it is violent in the extreme (*aer* for *isnec*), and it is metrically illegitimate. In all Martial there are only four examples of caesura procured by elision, II 14 13 'nam thermis iterumque iterumque iterumque lauatur', XI 104 7 'fascia te tunicaeque obscuraque pallia celant', XII 48 9 'mullorum leporumque et suminis exitus hic est', XIV 1 7 'sunt apinae tricaeque et si quid uilius istis': and in all four the elided syllable is the particle *que*.

I propose, as an easier change and a more forcible word than *cunctos*,

traducta est, ingens nec cepit harena nocentis.

in-ge-ns = tu-ge-lis = ge-tu-lis. The closest parallel in Martial to this series of errors is at III 17 1, where *scribilita* is cor-

rupted to *inscripta* in both the two families α and β: *scrib-ili-ta* = *scrib-in-ta* = *in-scrib-ta*. In Ouid. met. x 653 *pe-de li-bat* has passed through *pe-de-n-bat* to *pe-n-de-bat*, which stands in the Marcianus, the best MS. There is a very similar mistake at Iuu. III 64, where the fragmenta Arouiensia have *in-gent-ia* for *gent-il-ia*. Nor is this the only place where a transposition of letters in the family α (which alone preserves the liber spectaculorum) has thrown Latium open to an inroad of Gaetulians: III 30 3 'unde tibi togula est', *tog-ula* β γ, *get-ula* α; IX 92 3 'dat tibi securos uilis tegeticula somnos', *teget-ic-ul-a* β, *que get-ul-ic-a* α. There are blunders of the same sort at XI 56 2 *sus-pi-ci-am*] *sus-ci-pi-am* L and E, the best MSS of β and γ respectively, 71 5 *de-se-rat* β γ, *se-de-rat* α, VIII 36 3 *mare-oticus aulae* γ, *mare-aule-oticus* β, 71 8 *se-libra data est*] *se-data est libra* E. In spect. 21 9 sq. I conjecture

Orphea quod subito tellus emisit hiatu
ursam elisuram, uenit ab Eurydice.

The MS has *uersam*isamur*: if the erased letter was *l*, then *u-rsam-e-lis-ur-am* = *u-e-rsam-lis-am-ur*. I formerly, in the Classical Review vol. XV p. 155, proposed *ursam mersuram*; but that is less clear in meaning and less usual in rhythm.

Lib. spect. 5.

iunctam Pasiphaen Dictaeo credite tauro:
uidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.
nec se miretur, Caesar, longaeua uetustas:
quidquid fama canit, praestat harena tibi.

I think it less likely that Martial wrote in this disjointed fashion than that a copyist substituted *nec*, as copyists sometimes would (e.g. Hor. carm. I 36 11, 12, 13, 15, art. 189, Iuu. XII 93), for the comparatively unfamiliar *neu*:

neu se miretur, Caesar, longaeua uetustas,
quidquid fama canit, praestat harena tibi.

That is 'et, ne se miretur uetustas, harena praestat quidquid fama canit'. Heinsius conjectured *ne*.

Lib. spect. 28 9—12.

quidquid et in circo spectatur et amphitheatro
diues Caesarea praestitit unda tibi.
Fucinus et tigri taceantur stagna Neronis:
hanc norint unam saecula naumachiam.

Verse 10 is neither metrical nor intelligible, and it is to be corrected by the light of these passages: spect. 5 3 sq. '*Caesar*, ...*quidquid* fama canit, *praestat* harena *tibi*', 9 1 sq. '*praestitit* exhibitus tota *tibi*, *Caesar*, harena | quae non promisit proelia rhinoceros', 21 1 sq. '*quidquid* in Orpheo Rhodope spectasse theatro | dicitur, exhibuit, *Caesar*, harena *tibi*', 1 14 1 sq. '*Caesar*,.....hoc etiam *praestat* harena *tibi*'. Heinsius restored the necessary vocative thus: 'diues, *Caesar*, *io*, praestitit unda tibi'; but *io* is a most unseasonable outburst and not at all defended by Mr Gilbert's citation of VII 6 7, VIII 4 1, XI 36 2. It appears to me that the original was

id diues, Caesar, praestitit unda tibi.

Compare VII 31 9–12 '*quidquid* uilicus Vmber.....aut Tusci tibi Tusculiue mittunt, | *id* tota mihi nascitur Subura'. The *id* was perhaps absorbed by the following *di-*, just as in Ouid. her. VII 77 'quid di meruere' the best MS has omitted *di* after *-id*. But this family α has several times left out the first letter or two of a line: spect. 23 6 'i nunc et lentas corripe, turba, moras', *i* Itali, om. α; 1 42 6 'i nunc et ferrum, turba molesta, nega', *i* $\beta\gamma$, om. α; 1 86 11 'migrandum est mihi longius uel illi', *migrandum* $\beta\gamma$, *grandum* α. Defective metre naturally prompts conjecture, as at 1 3 12 'i fuge, sed poteras tutior esse domi', *i* $\beta\gamma$, om. H, *uel* T.

In u. 11 *tigri* is altered by Heinsius to *diri*, which many editors accept. To Nero this epithet may be appropriate enough, but it is not appropriate to this mention of Nero. The naumachia of Titus is not much extolled by saying that it is superior to the naumachia of one who was 'dirus'. In order that Titus may be exalted by a comparison with Nero it is necessary that Nero, if possible, should himself be exalted first. Now a Julian emperor had at least one glory which a Flavian emperor had not: he was the seed of Venus and

Anchises. When Valerius Flaccus desires to compliment the new dynasty at the expense of the old, this is how he sets about it: Arg. I 7–9 'tuque o, pelagi cui maior aperti | fama, Caledonius postquam tua carbasa uexit | Oceanus, *Phrygios* prius indignatus *Iulos*': compare Luc. III 213 '*Phrygii*que ferens se Caesar *Iuli*', Stat. silu. I 2 189 sq. '*Phrygio* si non ego iuncta marito, | Lydius unde meos iterasset Thybris *Iulos*?' TIGRI and FRIGII are like enough; but Martial, even in adjectives and in Greek words, has no love for the genitive in *-ii*, and I think he wrote

Fucinus et *Teucri* taceantur stagna Neronis.

In Iuu. VIII Rubellius Blandus, whom Juvenal at 72 calls 'inflatum plenumque *Nerone* propinquo', and to whom he says at 40 sqq. 'tumes alto Drusorum stemmate, tamquam | feceris ipse aliquid.....ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget *Iuli*', is addressed at 56 as '*Teucrorum* proles'. *teucri* is *teticri*: the confusion of *u* with *ti*, which begins in uncials, occurs in this family of Martial's MSS at III 59 2 *tibi* for *ubi* and IX 29 titul. *anti* for *anu*; it is also found in β at XII 3 8 *tibi* for *ubi* and in γ at X 34 3 *resutuis* for *restituis*. In Manil. V 298 *Teucro* is corrupted to *tecicro*.

I 17.

cogit me Titus actitare causas
et dicit mihi saepe 'magna res est'.
res magna est, Tite, quam facit colonus.

Turn pleader, says Titus; pleading is a fine affair. For certain persons, yes, replies Martial, but not for everybody. To convey this answer he lays hold of the word *res* and converts it to the sense it has in Hor. epist. I 14 4 sq. 'spinas animone ego fortius an tu | euellas *agro*, et melior sit Horatius an *res*', where Bentley quotes digest. IV 4 39 'uendentibus curatoribus minoris *fundum*, emptor extitit Lucius Titius et sex fere annis possedit et longe longeque *rem meliorem fecit*'. Verse 3 is to be construed 'ea demum magna res est quam colonus magnam facit': what makes a fine farm is a good farmer. Cicero istam rem magnam effecit, ego non efficiam.

I 69.

coepit, Maxime, Pana quae solebat,
nunc ostendere Canium Tarentos.

Canius Rufus of Gades (I 61 9) is staying at Tarentum, where his perpetual smile (III 20 21) has quite eclipsed some effigy of a laughing Pan which used to be one of the sights of the place. The city which Greeks called Τάρας and Romans *Tarentum* had the literary name *Tarentus* conferred upon it in the first century after Christ: Sil. XII 434 'uerterat et mentem Tyria ad conata Tarentus', Mela II 4 68 'Tarentus, Metapontum, Heraclea'. This form, like the similar coinage *Saguntus* for *Saguntum*, was feminine in accordance with the Greek rule: Flor. I 13 2 3 'Tarentus.....in ipsis Hadriani maris faucibus posita'. And Tarentum, the great centre of the wool trade, with 'dulce pellitis ouibus Galaesi flumen' in its neighbourhood, was the very place for an effigy of 'Pan ouium custos'. Why then do modern editors alter *quae* to *qui*, and so substitute the Tarentus or Terentum of the Campus Martius at Rome, which Pan so far as we know had nothing to do with?

II 36 1—4.

flectere te nolim, sed nec turbare capillos;
splendida sit nolo, sordida nolo cutis;
nec tibi mitrarum nec sit tibi barba reorum:
nolo uirum nimium, Pannyche, nolo parum.

'3. *mitrarum*. Metonymisch für Personen, welche die mitra tragen wie Juven. 3, 115 facinus maioris abollae' Friedlaender. He might quote Mart. X 18 4 'quam fatuae sunt tibi, Roma, togae'; but how can such a metonymy stand side by side with 'barba *reorum*'? If Martial wrote this instead of writing

nec mitratorum nec sit tibi barba reorum,

he must have had some motive which has not yet been discovered.

II 77 1—4.

Cosconi, qui longa putas epigrammata nostra,
utilis unguendis axibus esse potes.
hac tu credideris longum ratione colosson
et puerum Bruti dixeris esse breuem.

2. 'Leute, die zum Schmieren der Achsen gut sind, sind solche, denen nichts schnell genug geht' Friedlaender: wretched sense, and refuted by u. 4 and u. 8 'tu, Cosconi, disticha longa facis'. *utilis unguendis axibus esse potes* means not 'bonus potes esse axungiator' but 'bona potes esse axungia': in other words 'pinguis es'. Cosconius, if we boiled him down, would yield a large quantity of excellent axle-grease. *pinguis* means stupid, like Midas in Ouid. met. XI 148 '*pingue* sed ingenium mansit'; and Horace plays on the literal and metaphorical senses of the word in serm. II 6 14 sq. '*pingue* pecus domino facias et cetera praeter | ingenium'. In Cic. Cat. III 16 'non mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum nec L. Cassii *adipes* nec C. Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam' *adipes* similarly means stupidity: Cassius is described by Asconius as 'iners ac stolidus'.

Having written this, I found that the verse had long ago been rightly explained by Ramirez de Prado in his hypomnemata of 1607. Mr Friedlaender often, as here, mistakes the point of a phrase or an epigram where it has been understood aright by his predecessors and where one would have supposed it to be unmistakable. His interpretations, for instance, of II 8 8 *tu non meliora facis*, 14 12 *Aeoliam Lupi*, IV 53 6 *latratos cibos*, V 24 4 *turba sui ludi*, VI 86 1 *dominae niues*, 89 3 *Spoletina*, VII 12 8 *ferre negat*, VIII 14 1 *Cilicum pomaria*, X 1 2 *legito pauca*, 38 10 *aetas tota*, XI 8 7 *sed longe*, are all of them not merely wrong but obviously and perversely wrong, and wrong where earlier interpreters were right. Similarly at II 52 2 he has missed the force of *tribus* and set me writing a note which I now cancel because I find the true explanation in the Delphin edition, 'Spatale et duae illius mammae trium locum occupabant'.

III 93 18—22.

audes ducentas nupturire post mortes
uirumque demens cineribus tuis quaeris
prurire. quid si satiae uelit saxum ?
quis coniugem te, quis uocabit uxorem,
Philomelus auiam quam uocauerat nuper ?

I cannot remove the corruption in u. 20, but at least I can correct the punctuation of the passage.

uirumque demens cineribus tuis quaeris.
prurire quid si – ⏑ – uelit saxum ?

cineribus is dative. *Siciliae saxum* for *saxum Sicanum*, the lapis molaris of Aetna, whose hardness was a proverb (Prop. I 16 29 sq. 'sit licet et saxo patientior illa Sicano, | sit licet et ferro durior et chalybe'), is not altogether satisfactory; but *quid si* has the same force here as at I 35 6, II 86 7, XI 20 5: the sense is 'tune ut prurias? superest ut saxum prurire incipiat'.

III 95 11, 12.

quot mihi Caesareo facti sunt munere ciues,
nec famulos totidem suspicor esse tibi.

'Pluribus impetraui a Caesare ius ciuitatis, quam tu habes famulos' Schrevel. 'Auf meine Verwendung haben zahlreiche peregrini (vermuthlich Spanier) durch kaiserliche Verleihung das Bürgerrecht erhalten' Friedlaender. If they were 'zahlreich', the explanation is evidently false; for the sense requires a small number. And it requires a number which Martial's readers knew to be small: whereas the number of Spaniards for whom he had begged the franchise was no more known to them than to Mr Friedlaender. The true sense of the words is very different. Caesareo munere Martiali facti sunt ciues III, nempe liberi. In uu. 5 sq. of this epigram he has said 'tribuit mihi Caesar...natorum...iura paterna trium'. It is his humour to take his technical paternity seriously: II 92 'natorum mihi ius trium roganti | musarum pretium dedit mearum | solus qui poterat. ualebis, uxor: | non debet domini perire *munus*'; and since Martial is a Roman

citizen it follows that his three imaginary children are Roman citizens as well: Iuu. XIV 70 'gratum est quod patriae *ciuem* populoque dedisti'.

IV 69.

tu Setina quidem semper uel Massica ponis,
Papyle, sed rumor tam bona uina negat:
diceris hac factus caeleps quater esse lagona.
nec puto nec credo, Papyle, nec sitio.

2. 'immo ueneno mista esse, fama est' Schrevel, 'mais le public nie la bonne qualité de ce vin' Nisard; as if *tam bona uina negat* could mean 'negat illa uina salubria esse'. *negat* has here the sense it has so often elsewhere in Martial, as at I 42 6 'ferrum nega' and XII 57 4 'negant uitam'; and the words mean 'optima illa uina a te posita rumor quidam nobis conuiuis negat, quemadmodum dapes Tantalo negantur; obstat scilicet quominus ea bibere uelimus'.

V 14 1—3.

sedere primo solitus in gradu semper
tunc, cum liceret occupare, Nanneius
bis excitatus terque transtulit castra.

2. *tunc* γ, om. β. *occupare* lacks an object, *tunc* is unnecessary, and *tunc cum* elsewhere in Martial takes, as usual, the indicative: V 49 9 'tum, cum prandia *misit* imperator', 67 6 'tunc, cum *lacerauit* Ityn', XII 70 10 'tunc, cum pauper *erat*', XIV 180 2 'tunc poteras, Io cum tibi uacca *fuit*'. For these three reasons I propose

sedere primo solitus in gradu semper,
hunc cum liceret occupare, Nanneius.

V 19 7—14.

est tamen hoc uitium, sed non leue, sit licet unum,
quod colit ingratas pauper amicitias.
quis largitur opes ueteri fidoque sodali,
aut quem prosequitur non alienus eques? 10

Saturnaliciae ligulam misisse selibrae
flammarisue togae scripula tota decem
luxuria est, tumidique uocant haec munera reges:
qui crepet aureolos forsitan unus erit.

Before we can correct u. 12 we must explain u. 11, which the commentators take to mean 'sending a silver spoon of half-a-pound's weight as a present at the Saturnalia'. But half-a-pound would be an uncommon weight for a *ligula*, which is 'gracilis' at v 18 2 and 'sextante minor', under two ounces, at VIII 71 9; and *Saturnaliciae ligulam selibrae* would be still more uncommon Latin for 'Saturnaliciam ligulam sex unciarum': in the figure called hypallage the epithet is transferred from the noun in the genitive to the noun on which the genitive depends, not contrariwise. The apparent meaning of the words is 'unam ligulam ex selibra argenti Saturnalibus accepta'. As in VIII 71 8 a *selibra* is given at the Saturnalia 'in cotula', in the form of a cup, so here it has been given 'in ligulis', as a set of spoons, to the rich patron; and he presents to his poor client not the whole *selibra* but only one of the *ligulae* composing it. The practice of passing on to another the gifts presented to oneself is the subject of IV 88 and VII 53.

In u. 12 *togae scripula* is nonsense and *flammaris togae*, so far as we know, is not even Latin. The one conjecture worth mentioning is Munro's *e lamnisue Tagi*. Certainly *e lamnis*, if it were written *e lamminis*, would be almost identical with *flammaris*, and *togae* for *tagi* is no incredible error: but the expression *scripula e lamnis Tagi* for 'scripula auri' seems a good deal too high-flown for the occasion and the context. Moreover the word *togae*, in a passage dealing with the relations of patron and client, is likely to be genuine. The toga is the official garb of the client as he trudges across Rome to salute his patron in the morning or dances attendance on him for half the day, I 108 7, II 74 1, 6, III 36 9, V 22 11, IX 100 1, X 10 12, 18 4, 74 3, 82 2, XI 24 11, XIV 125 2: to wear it is a heavy affliction, III 4 6 'non potuit uanae taedia ferre togae', 46 1 'exigis a nobis operam sine fine togatam',

XII 18 5 'sudatrix toga'; and true happiness consists in getting rid of it, X 47 1–5 'uitam quae faciant beatiorem...haec sunt, ...toga rara', I 49 31 'nusquam toga', XII 18 17 'ignota est toga', X 51 6 'o tunicata quies'. This being so, *togae* may be furnished with a construction by writing

> Saturnaliciae ligulam misisse selibrae
> damnatisue togae scripula tota decem
> luxuria est,

in which *togae* is dative rather than genitive: see VII 55 8 'damnatam modo mentulam tributis', XI 41 6 'damnauitque rogis noxia ligna'. The unlikeness of *d* to *fl* is not always great enough to prevent the confusion of words which differ little in other respects: thus in Stat. silu. IV 2 66 I find *flaca* for *Daca*, and at Mart. XIV 29 2, where γ has *nam uentus* and α and β the barbarism *mandatus*, the true reading seems to be Pontanus' *nam flatus*. *damnatis togae* means 'clientibus salutatoribus'. The construction of the sentence is the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* which Martial so often employs: the conjunction *ue*, which unites *ligulam* with *scripula*, is attached to a word common to both members, as at VI 39 3 'nec est amici filiusue uicini' (amici uiciniue filius), X 87 3 'linguis omnibus et fauete uotis', XI 23 10 'siue meus siue erit ille tuus', 30 1 'os male causidicis et dicis olere poetis', 39 7 'ludere nec nobis nec tu permittis amare', XII 18 9 'auro Bilbilis et superba ferro', 74 3 'hi magis audaces an sunt qui talia mittunt | munera', XIII 1 8 'alea nec damnum nec facit ista lucrum', XIV 57 1 'quod nec Vergilius nec carmine dicit Homerus'. The sentence therefore means 'luxuria est misisse miseris clientibus ex selibra Saturnalicia ligulam uel scripula tota decem', a *ligula* or even so much as ten scruples, perhaps in the form of a *cocleare*: see IV 88 2 sq. 'ergo nec argenti *sex scripula* Septiciani | missa nec a querulo mappa cliente fuit'.

VI 21.

> perpetuam Stellae dum iungit Ianthida uati
> laeta Venus, dixit 'plus dare non potui'.
> haec coram domina, sed nequius illud in aure:
> 'tu ne quid pecces, exitiose, uide.

saepe ego lasciuom Martem furibunda cecidi,
legitimos esset cum uagus ante toros;
sed postquam meus est nulla me paelice laesit:
tam frugi Iuno uellet habere uirum'.
dixit et arcano percussit pectora loro.
plaga iuuat; sed tu iam, dea, caede duos.

So the latest editors, and many also of their predecessors. Stella is marrying Violentilla, and Venus warns him that his bachelor days are over and he must be faithful to his wife; and suiting the action to the word, to ensure his devotion and fidelity, she 'arcano percussit pectora loro.' Thereupon the poet begs her to bestow a similar stroke on Violentilla! How, I wonder, would the bride have received this broad hint of Martial's opinion that nothing but divine interposition would prevent her from committing adultery?

caede duos in u. 10 is only the reading of β: γ has *pare deo*. The Italians of the renascence conjectured *parce deo*, which is quite unsuitable; Heinsius recovered the truth: 'sed tu iam, dea, parce tuo'. The archetype had *pare duo*, and the lections of β and γ are alternative attempts to correct it. Venus is begged to spare henceforth her devoted servant Stella and not to inflict upon him a second stroke: a second stroke would raise his passion for Violentilla to a height which might endanger his health and reason.

VI 25 1, 2.

Marcelline, boni suboles sincera parentis,
horrida Parrhasio quem tegit Vrsa iugo.

'Hier ist (falls nicht Parrhasium iugum selbst das Nordische Gebirge sein soll, auf dem Marcellinus sich befindet) wol (mit Gilbert) zu verstehn: die Bärin, welche dem Arkadischen Gebirge furchtbar war (Callisto), und dies bezeichnet dann den Norden' Friedlaender. Neither the one nor the other: *iugo* means *plaustro*. Ἄρκτος, ἣν καὶ ἅμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν, is sometimes a bear, sometimes a wain, sometimes both together. Arat. 93 (Βοώτης) ἁμαξαίης ἐπαφώμενος εἴδεται Ἄρκτου, Cic. n. d. II 109 'quasi *temoni* adiunctam prae se

quatit *Arctum'*, Luc. IV 523 'flexoque *Vrsae temone* pauerent', V 23 'Hyperboreae *plaustrum* glaciale sub *Vrsae'*, Stat. Theb. I 692 sq. '*temone* supino | languet Hyperboreae glacialis portitor *Vrsae'*, III 684 sq. 'ubi sola superstite *plaustro* | *Arctos* ad Oceanum fugientibus inuidet astris', Sen. Herc. Oet. 1523 'quique sub *plaustro* patiuntur *Vrsae'*. Compare also Mart. VI 58 1 'Parrhasios...triones'.

VI 29 1, 2.

non de plebe domus nec auarae uerna catastae
sed domini sancto dignus amore puer.

'Der Sinn von M.'s Worten' says Mr Friedlaender 'kann kaum sein: kein verna, dessen man sich durch Verkauf entledigt, der also auf die catasta kommt.' Quite true. He proceeds: 'Sondern M. hat gemeint: ein verna, nicht ein auf der catasta gekaufter Sklave, und sich mit einer auch für ihn ungewöhnlichen (Einl. S. 20, 1) Nachlässigkeit ausgedrückt.' Not at all. The relation of *uerna* to its genitive *catastae* is the same as in Iuu. I 26 'uerna Canopi'; the phrase means *catasta oriundus*. Of course a *uerna catastae*, if you pursue his origin to the utmost, may prove to be *uerna Syriae*, *uerna Asiae*, *uerna Aegypti*, or what not; but so far as his buyer is concerned with him the *catasta* is his *patria*: that is the ground on which you find him growing, and he is racy of that soil. The word *uerna*, which regularly, when applied to a slave, means 'home-bred', is purposely chosen to create something like an oxymoron.

VI 39.

pater ex Marulla, Cinna, factus es septem
non liberorum; namque nec tuus quisquam
nec est amici filiusue uicini,
sed in grabatis tegetibusque concepti
materna produnt capitibus suis furta. 5

These seven putative children he then enumerates: their true fathers are Santra the *cocus*, Pannychus the *palaestrita*, Dama the *pistor*, Lygdus the *concubinus*, Cyrta the *morio*,

Crotus the *choraules*, and Carpus the *uilicus*: then comes this conclusion,

> iam Niobidarum grex tibi foret plenus
> si spado Coresus Dindymusque non esset.

The old editors supposed *foret plenus* to be the predicate, and perceiving that *Niobidae* was an absurd name for this bastard progeny they altered *iam Niobidarum* to *iamque hybridarum*, which is adopted by Schneidewin, Friedlaender, and Gilbert. The two last editors, Mr Lindsay and Mr Duff, retain the MS reading and presumably understand it aright; but as I have never seen the verse explained I will here explain it. *plenus* is attributive and the predicate is *tibi foret*, i.e. 'haberes'; and 'haberes plenum Niobidarum gregem' means 'tot non-liberos haberes quot Niobe filios habuit, hoc est nouem'. Martial follows the authority of Sappho: Gell. XX 7 'Homerus pueros puellasque eius (Niobes) bis senos dicit fuisse, Euripides bis septenos, *Sappho bis nouenos*'.

VII 34.

> quo possit fieri modo, Seuere,
> ut uir pessimus omnium Charinus
> unam rem bene fecerit, requiris?
> dicam, sed cito. quid Nerone peius?
> quid thermis melius Neronianis?
> non dest protinus ecce de malignis
> qui sic rancidulo loquatur ore:
> 'ut quid tu domini deique nostri
> praefers muneribus Neronianas?'
> thermas praefero balneis cinaedi.

'*With what object in view* do you prefer the (thermae) Neronianae to all that Domitian has given us?' This is the meaning of uu. 8 sq., and it is absurd. The editors apparently suffer themselves to be duped by the ambiguity of the English *why* and the German *warum*, and fancy that *ut quid*, which means *τί βουλόμενος* (III 77 10, XI 75 2), can mean *τί παθών*. Now absurdity is the privilege of authenticated readings; it cannot be conceded to conjectures. *ut quid tu* is not the

lection of the MSS, nor even of one family of MSS; it is the lection of the inferior members of the family γ. The two best members of that family, E and A, have *quid tu* without the *ut*; the family β has *quid te tot* (and also, but that is merely a case of false accommodation, *Neronianis* for *Neronianas*).

The common origin of *quid te tot* and *quid tu* was *quid tu tot*. Thus much was perceived by Gruter; but he wrote 'quid? tu tot.....Neronianas?' The punctuation wants mending too; for what, in the vulgate text, is *Neronianas* doing without *thermas*, and what is *thermas* doing without *Neronianas*?

> 'quid tu tot domini deique nostri
> praefers muneribus?' Neronianas
> thermas praefero balneis cinaedi.

The general drift of the epigram is well enough given by Schrevel: 'quod si quis malignus mihi hic obstrepat, perinde ac si praeferam Neronis thermas ..... publicis Domitiani aedificiis, respondeo me id non facere, sed conferre tantum inter se Neronis et Charini opera'. The words 'quid thermis melius Neronianis?' taken literally would mean that nothing, even of Domitian's, was finer than Nero's thermae. Up starts a captious sycophant, pounces on the phrase, and feigns so to understand it; nay wrests it further towards high-treason and distorts 'nihil thermis Neronianis melius' into 'thermae Neronianae omnibus rebus meliores, meliores ergo muneribus Domitiani'. That is not what I was talking about, says Martial.

The art or artifice of the poem lies in this: that having shifted at u. 6 from one theme to another, as does v 37 at u. 18, it then at u. 10 returns as if by accident to the original subject; and *balneis cinaedi*, the last words of all, explain to the reader with seeming negligence what he has been waiting to learn,—the exact meaning of 'uir pessimus omnium' and of 'unam rem bene fecerit'.

VII 79.

> potaui modo consulare uinum.
> quaeris quam uetus atque liberale?

ipso consule conditum; sed ipse
qui ponebat erat, Seuere, consul.

'2. *liberale*: edel. 4. *Seuere*. Zu II 6, 3.' These, not a word more, are the 'erklärenden Anmerkungen' of Mr Friedlaender.

'Not long ago' says Martial 'I drank a wine of a consul's year'. The hearer straightway bethinks himself of Opimius and Anicius and the famous growths which bore their names, and he enquires how ancient and generous was the vintage, as at XIII 111 'de Sinuessanis uenerunt Massica prelis: | condita quo quaeris consule? nullus erat' (the wine dated from the kings or at least the tribuni militum). 'It was laid up' replies Martial 'when the master of the house, the giver of the feast, was consul'; for this and nothing else is the meaning of *ipso consule*. Therefore it was not so very old after all. 'Nay more' —*sed* must mean something like *atque adeo*—'the very man who set it on the table'—this is a long way of saying again what was briefly said in *ipso* just before—'was consul at the time'.

Martial was an epigrammatist, and this is not an epigram. No writer that knew his trade and was leading up to 'ipse qui ponebat consul erat' would forestall his point and blunt it by inserting 'ipso consule conditum'. And, though all the MSS have *ipso*, the family β bears witness against itself by prefacing the poem with this title: *iocus de nomine consulis*. Where *ipso* now stands, Martial wrote the name of his host, and that name had a double meaning. '– – consule conditum', to one hearing it for the first time, meant 'uetustissimum atque liberalissimum'; it was a phrase like Iuu. V 30 'capillato diffusum consule' or Luc. IV 379 'nobilis ignoto diffusus consule Bacchus'. Having thus raised expectation to the height, he dashed it down,—*sed*, as it ought to be, is the turning-point,—by revealing that '– –' was merely the host's name, so that '– – consule conditum' meant 'nouum'. The name, so far as the jest and the metre are concerned, might be Brutus or Primus: on considering the letters of the text it will appear that it was

PRISCO consule conditum.

I suppose that *prisco* was corrupted to *pisco* as was *prisce* to *pisce* at VII 46 4 in β and ib. 6 in R, and that *c* was absorbed by *o*, leaving nothing but *piso*: *piso* is changed to *ipso* in Ter. Scaur. G. L. K. VII p. 19 3, *ipso* to *piso* in Lucr. VI 749. Perhaps however the mischief began with *prisconsule*. Martial's seventh book was published about the end of the year 92: one Priscus is given as consul in September 87 by the acta fratrum arualium; Marius Priscus, Heluidius Priscus, Iauolenus Priscus, would all appear to have held consulships at no remote date. The year 93 is designated by Tacitus or his MSS at Agr. 44 1 with the words 'Collega Priscoque consulibus', and it might seem that this epigram had been written in readiness for the consulship and was published just in time for it; but other authorities name Priscinus for Priscus as Collega's colleague.

VII 95 14, 15.

centum occurrere malo cunnilingis
et gallum timeo minus recentem.

'*Gallum...recentem.* Hiernach scheint man geglaubt zu haben, dass Verschnittene unmittelbar nach der Entmannung einen üblen Geruch verbreiteten. Oder: ein frisch angekommener (VIII 75, 2) Gallier? Gilbert' Friedlaender. Two extravagant fantasies, with no foundation except this verse, and therefore with no foundation at all. In this verse *recentem* means 'recentem ab ea re quae gallis usu uenire solet': see Iuu. VIII 176 'resupinati cessantia tympana galli', schol. 'turpia patientis' (so Catull. 28 9 sq. 'supinum...irrumasti'), Mart. III 81 1 sq. 'Baetice galle,...haec debet medios lambere lingua uiros'. The two verses are therefore parallel to XII 59 10 'fellatorque recensque cunnilingus'.

Here Farnaby gave the right interpretation, 'nuper λείξαντα', but instantly wandered off to the chimerical explanation of Turnebus.

VIII 25.

uidisti semel, Oppiane, tantum
aegrum me: male saepe te uidebo.

This epigram is rightly punctuated by Mr Gilbert, but not rightly explained: 'du hast mich nur einmal besucht, nämlich als ich krank war; also schlimm, wenn wir uns oft sehen sollen'. The sense is 'cum tu me aegrum semel tantum uideris, male faciam si te aegrum uidebo saepe'. When Martial was ill, Oppianus visited him only once; now that Oppianus is ill, Martial ought not to visit him often.

VIII 46 1—6.

quanta tua est probitas, tanta est infantia formae,
  Ceste puer, puero castior Hippolyto.
te secum Diana uelit doceatque natare,
  te Cybele totum mallet habere Phryga;
tu Ganymedeo poteras succedere lecto,
  sed durus domino basia sola dares.

Verse 4 can only mean 'te Cybele mallet habere quasi alterum Attin, non castratum ideoque potiorem'. Placetne uobis, domini doctores? placetne uobis, magistri?

The editors libellously affirm that Brodaeus proposed *Phryge*, 'te, utpote non castratum, Cybele mallet habere quam Attin'; a change which avoids indeed the obscurity and uncouthness of the MS reading, but retains its odious blend of grossness and ineptitude. What Brodaeus really proposed was 'te Cybele *secum* mallet habere *Phryge*'; and this is the best conjecture yet put forward. Such an error as *Phrygа* for *Phryge* is not uncommon in Greek words (at Verg. Aen. VII 148 the Palatinus has *lampada* for *lampade*) and may here have been caused by the neighbourhood of the transitive verb *habere*; but *secum* would hardly be corrupted to *totum* when the same word stood just overhead in u. 3. Still, *totum* must be false, whatever else is true.

Now *totum mallet* is given by R, which here represents the family α; it is given by the family γ, except that E has *totum nellet*: and apparently it is given by all MSS of the family β except one. But that one is L, the best beyond comparison and older by 300 years than the others, which all belong to the

15th century and are more or less tainted with interpolation. The reading of L, and, I make bold to say, of β, is this:

te cybele mollet habere phriga;

that is

te Cybele molli *mall*et habere Phryge.

Compare I 103 7 'deque decem plures se*mper* se*r*uantur oliuae': *semper* γ, *tibi nunc* β.

IX 6 4—7.

non puer auari sectus arte mangonis
uirilitatis damna maeret ereptae,
nec quam superbus conputet stipem leno
dat prostituto misera mater infanti.

'nec a paupercula matre leno conducit uel emit puerum prostituendum' Schrevel, 'la mère indigente ne vend plus au riche entremetteur son enfant déstiné à la prostitution' Nisard. But the Latin is evidently incapable of these meanings: it says 'nec mater dat infanti stipem, quam conputet leno', which describes nothing that can ever have happened anywhere. What used to happen, before the reforms of Domitian, was that the mother reckoned how much the child would earn: this Domitian has now forbidden,

nec, quam superbus, conputat, stipem leno
det prostituto, misera mater, infanti.

That is 'nec conputat mater quam stipem leno infanti det'. For the hyperbaton compare I 76 9 sq. 'praeter aquas, Helicon, et serta lyrasque dearum, | nil habet, et magnum sed perinane sophos', 89 1 sq. 'garris in aurem semper omnibus, Cinna, | garrire, et illud, teste quod licet turba', II 69 4 'cum cenaret, erat tristior ille, domi', XI 97 'una nocte quater possum; sed, quattuor annis | si possum, peream, te, Telesilla, semel'.

IX 44.

Alcides modo Vindicem rogabam
esset cuius opus laborque felix.

risit, nam solet hoc, leuique nutu
'Graece numquid' ait 'poeta nescis ?
inscripta est basis indicatque nomen.'
Lysippum lego: Phidiae putaui.

'I read the name of Lysippus'. So Ouid. fast. v 567 sq. 'spectat et Augusto praetextum nomine templum, | et uisum est *lecto Caesare* maius opus', 'when he reads the name of Caesar', 513 sq. 'quae simul exhausit, "da nunc bibat ordine" dixit | "Iuppiter". *audito* palluit ille *Ioue*', 'when he heard the name of Jupiter', met. x 401 sq. '"uiuit genetrixque paterque". | Myrrha *patre audito* suspiria duxit', 'when she heard the word *father*'. The editors all change *Lysippum* to Λυσίππου: why?

IX 67.

lasciuam tota possedi nocte puellam
cuius nequitias uincere nemo potest.
fessus mille modis illud puerile poposci:
ante preces totas primaque uerba dedit.
improbius quiddam ridensque rubensque rogaui:
pollicitast nulla luxuriosa mora.
sed mihi pura fuit; tibi non erit, Aeschyle, si uis
accipere hoc munus condicione mala.

2. *nemo* αγ, *nulla* β. Most editors adopt *nulla*, which is quite satisfactory; but *nemo* ought to be preferred, because it has superior authority and yields equally good sense. That sense however is strangely mistaken by Mr Gilbert when he says 'vielleicht hat Martial das Wort gewählt, um auch Knaben mit einzuschliessen'. *uincere* is here used as Sallust uses it in Cat. 20 12 'cum tabulas signa toreumata emunt, noua diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt uexant, tamen summa libidine *diuitias suas uincere* nequeunt', that is 'usque ad finem diuitiarum peruenire'. nemo amator quicquam nequitiae rogare potest, quod puella praestare nolit.

The last two lines of the epigram are so utterly misunderstood by the commentators that I will not even quote their

explanations. nimirum puella munus, quod poeta rogauerat, pollicita est illa quidem, sed sub condicione (scilicet ut fieret 'mutua muli'); quae cum Martiali mala uideretur, is os puellae non conspurcauit: conspurcabit, si uolet, Aeschylus, qui qua flagret infamia quamque non inuitus condicionem istam subiturus sit quarto huius libri epigrammate significatur: 'aureolis futui cum possit Galla duobus | et plus quam futui, si totidem addideris, | aureolos a te cur accipit, Aeschyle, denos? | non fellat tanti Galla. quid ergo? tacet'.

IX 72 1, 2

Liber, Amyclaea frontem uittate corona,
qui quatis Ausonia uerbera Graia manu.

'Verg. georg. III 89 *Amyclaei...Pollucis* (cf. Mart. IX 72 1 *corona* qua coronantur pugiles, a Polluce nominata)' says the thesaurus linguae Latinae; and Martial's commentators agree that Pollux is indicated and that Liber was a boxer: as if *quatis uerbera* were Latin for anything that a boxer does. It means to crack a whip, culex 218 sq. 'obuia Tisiphone, serpentibus undique compta, | et flammas et saeua *quatit* mihi *uerbera*'; and *Amyclaea* has nothing to do with Pollux, but means *Castorea*.

X 4 7, 8.

quid te uana iuuant miserae ludibria chartae?
hoc lege, quod possit dicere uita meum est.

The editors all print 'quod possit dicere uita "meum est"', so that *quod* has no construction, and Mr Friedlaender, apparently the first commentator to bestow a thought upon the matter, says 'Der Ausdruck ist nicht correkt'. The incorrectness however resides in the modern punctuation, not in the ancient words: they are sound Latin, but, as sound Latin often will, they refuse to be punctuated. I have called attention to this subject in the Classical Review vol. XI pp. 426 sq. When Ovid at met. V 414 writes 'agnouitque deam *nec* longius ibitis inquit', that means 'agnouitque deam *et* "*non* longius ibitis" inquit', and the correct (or rather the least incorrect) punctuation is grotesque: 'agnouitque deam "ne" c "longius ibitis"

inquit'. When Ovid, if Ovid it is, at her. XII 201 sq. writes 'aureus ille aries uillo spectabilis alto | dos mea, *quam* dicam si tibi redde neges', that means '*et*, si dicam tibi "*hanc* redde", neges', and the least incorrect punctuation is 'dos mea, qu"am" dicam si tibi "redde" neges'. In Martial's verse the words 'quod possit dicere uita meum est' mean 'carmen tale ut possit dicere uita "hoc meum est"': *quod* is nominative, and the construction is best represented thus:

hoc lege, qu'od' possit dicere uita 'meum est'.

But this is an eyesore; and neither this nor any punctuation is properly applicable to the Latin idiom.

x 19 6—9.

illic Orphea protinus uidebis
udi uertice lubricum theatri
mirantisque feras auemque regi
raptum quae Phryga pertulit Tonanti.

The old commentators planted Orpheus and his beasts on the top of a theatre, and sprayed them with saffron-water from the stage. It is now recognised that Martial describes an architectural fountain with a group of statuary. But when Mr Friedlaender says 'Das Bassin hatte nach v. 7 die Form eines Halbkreises mit Stufen' he is mistaken. *theatri* simply means the audience of Orpheus, the creatures listening to his lute: so spect. 21 1 sq. 'quidquid in *Orpheo* Rhodope spectasse *theatro* | dicitur, exhibuit, Caesar, harena tibi', Ouid. met. XI 21 sq. 'innumeras uolucres anguesque agmenque ferarum | Maenades *Orphei* titulum rapuere *theatri*'.

x 34.

di tibi dent quidquid, Caesar Traiane, mereris
et rata perpetuo quae tribuere uelint.
qui sua restituis spoliato iura patrono
(libertis exul non erit ille suis),
dignus es ut possis totum seruare clientem,
ut, liceat tantum uera probare, potes.

The *totum* of u. 5 is barely intelligible; but it is better to

retain an unintelligible reading than to replace it by such absurdities as *tutum* or *etiam* and make Martial tell Trajan that because he has conferred a favour on patrons he deserves to be able to—confer a favour on clients. You do not tell a man that he *deserves* to lend you half-a-crown.

The first couplet prays in general terms that Trajan may be recompensed according to his benefactions. The second specifies one of his benefactions. The third, 'dignus es ut...', must evidently specify the appropriate recompense. Therefore *clientem* cannot be the object of *seruare*; because *seruare clientem* is not a recompense for Trajan to receive, but a second benefaction for Trajan to bestow. *clientem* must be predicative and the object of *seruare* must be sought in *totum*. *totum* can only signify *totum patronum*: 'dignus es ut possis patronum totum (toto animo) in tua clientela seruare (retinere)'. The expression is not clear and the sense is not adequate; for 'ut potes' is now highly superfluous, and 'liceat tantum uera probare' (i.e. 'si modo mihi uera dicenti credere uis') is almost ridiculously so. Upon what occasions one says such things as 'liceat tantum uera probare' may be seen from V 19 1 sq. '*si qua fides ueris*, praeferri, maxime Caesar, | temporibus possunt saecula nulla tuis': it is when one is making a statement which might be thought extravagant. Adequate sense can only be obtained by substituting for *totum* some such noun as *Romam* or *orbem*: then we may compare Plin. epist. X 17 B 1 'C. Plinius Traiano imperatori. quinto decimo kal. Oct., domine, prouinciam intraui, quam in eo obsequio, in ea erga te fide, *quam de genere humano mereris*, inueni'. I conjecture therefore

dignus es ut possis populum seruare clientem,

that is *totulum*, for *p* and *t* are confused even in the earliest MSS, and Virgil's Palatinus at georg. II 307 has '*ter* ramos uictor *terque* alta cacumina regnat' for *per...perque*. But it is also conceivable that the original was 'po*pulum* *p*ossis' and the word was lost by reason of the homoearchon: see IX 46 4 above. Trajan deserves that his people should regard him not merely as their emperor but as their patron, a closer and more personal tie.

x 48 19, 20.

de Nomentana uinum sine faece lagona,
quae bis Frontino consule trima fuit.

This passage was long ago corrected, and Heinsius' *trima* is now generally received instead of the unmeaning *prima* of the MSS. What I have to do is to explain the correction, for the commentators realise only half of its excellence and its necessity. Mr Friedlaender for instance writes '*bis Frontino consule*. Spätestens im Februar 98', '*trima fuit*. Der unter dem zweiten Consulat des Frontinus bereits ein dreijähriger gewesen ist'; and Mommsen in Herm. III p. 122, discussing the date of Martial X, says that 'darin das zweite Consulat des Frontinus genannt wird'.

There came a time when 'obliti sunt Romae loquier lingua Latina' and *bis* meant *iterum*, but in Martial's day it was not yet come. In the fourth century even so good a scholar as Claudian could write 'te fastos ineunte *quater*' for *quarto* at IV cons. Hon. 612, though Mr Birt is wrong in saying that *quater* has this sense at Eutr. I 489; and even so early as Diocletian's reign a proletarian writer like Spartianus could misuse *bis*, *quater*, *quinquiens*, *septiens* in the same way. But from Martial's contemporaries and predecessors, and indeed from all Latin down to Diocletian, there are quoted only two examples of the solecism: one from the most wretchedly preserved of all the works of Tacitus, Agr. 44 1 'natus erat Agrippa Gaio Caesare *ter* (*tert.* Vrsinus, *iterum* Nipperdey) consule idibus Iuniis'; one from Velleius, whose text depends on inaccurate copies of a single lost MS and has errors in numerals on every other page, I 15 5 'in Bagiennis Eporedia (deducta colonia est) Mario *sexiens* (*sextum* Cludius) Valerioque Flacco consulibus'. Georges adds what he believes to be two instances of *ter* for *tertium* from Pliny's panegyricus[1]; but here

[1] The thesaurus linguae Latinae II 2012 15 sqq. quotes, as a passage where *bis* 'accedit ad notionem *iterum*', Priap. 35 1 sq. 'pedicabere, fur, semel; sed, idem | si deprensus eris *bis*, irrumabo'. It is true that *iterum* would be equally good sense; but to say that *bis* therefore has the sense of *iterum* is like saying that *Ancus* in Lucr. III 1025 'lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit' means *Numa*, because Numa too was good and is dead.

he is mistaken. The passages are these: 60 5 'recepit enim tertium consulatum, ut daret. nouerat moderationem hominum, nouerat pudorem, qui non sustinerent tertio consules esse nisi cum *ter* consule', 61 1 'equidem illum antiquum senatum contueri uidebar, cum *ter* consule adsidente tertio consulem designatum rogari sententiam cernerem' (add from the immediate context 'sed cum *ter* consules facis, non tibi magnus princeps sed non ingratus amicis uideris'). These modest senators could not endure to receive a third consulship before Trajan had received a third consulship: Trajan therefore became consul a third time. Having done so, he was both *tertium* (*tertio*) *consul* and *ter consul*: he was also, as it happened, *imperator* and *Caesar* and *Augustus* and *pontifex maximus*; but Pliny's *ter consule* no more means *tertium consule* than *pont. max.* means *imperator*. A man is *tertium consul* while he holds his third consulship: he is *ter consul* from the day when he assumes his third consulship to the day when he assumes his fourth consulship or dies. Pliny's *ter consule* is therefore both good Latin and good sense: Martial's *bis Frontino consule* is either bad Latin or nonsense; for while *Frontino iterum consule* would mean between Jan. 25 and March 1 in 98 A.D., *Frontino bis consule* means any time between then and 100 A.D., and gives the wine no date.

This difficulty, as well as the difficulty of *prima*, was removed by Heinsius' substitution of *t* for *p*. The construction is 'quae, Frontino consule, bis trima fuit'. The numerical adverb is sometimes still further removed from its adjective, as in Mart. I 15 3 '*bis* iam paene tibi consul *tricensimus* instat', Ouid. fast. VI 768 '*quintus* ab extremo mense *bis* ille dies'. If it is said that *Frontino consule* is ambiguous and might signify Frontinus' first consulship in Vespasian's time, I shall reply that it is no more ambiguous than *consule Tullo* in Hor. carm. III 8 12, which probably means 66 B.C. but might mean 33 B.C. It may be added that the common interpretation of the verse makes Martial a bad host, for Athenaeus I 27 B says that Nomentan wine is not fit to drink till it is five years old.

x 80.

plorat Eros, quotiens maculosae pocula murrae
inspicit aut pueros nobiliusue citrum,
et gemitus imo ducit de pectore quod non
tota miser coemat Saepta feratque domum.
quam multi faciunt quod Eros, sed lumine sicco! 5
pars maior lacrimas ridet et intus habet.

Those editors who do not keep to themselves their opinion on the construction of u. 6 explain it as meaning 'ridet Erotis lacrimas et intus habet suas'. But 'pars maior', the greater half of mankind, never saw or heard of Eros. *ridet* is intransitive and *lacrimas* is governed only by *habet*: the sense is 'ridet, et lacrimas intus habet', and the order of words is that of Plaut. aul. 95—7 'mortarium.....fures (uenisse atque) abstulisse dicito', 270 'uascula intus pure (propera atque) elue', Ter. ad. 917 'tu illas (abi et) traduce', ciris 290—2 'tene ego tam longe (capta atque) auecta nequiui.....effugere?', Manil. IV 534 'se quisque (et uuit et) effert', Theocr. anth. Pal. VII 664 1 'Αρχίλοχον (*καὶ στᾶθι καὶ*) *εἴσιδε τὸν πάλαι ποιητάν.*

And, after all, the true sense was perceived by the despised Lemaire: 'mira constructio, posito ante uerbum utrumque *τῷ lacrymas*, quod ad posterius solum refertur'.

x 93 1—4.

si prior Euganeas, Clemens, Helicaonis oras
pictaque pampineis uideris arua iugis,
perfer Atestinae nondum uulgata Sabinae
carmina, purpurea sed modo culta toga.

The commentators are silent on u. 2, but the Delphin editor paraphrases it 'agros pictos pampineis collibus' and Nisard 'ces campagnes et ces coteaux couronnés de pampres'. *arua* however are not *picta collibus*: *iugum* is here the cross-piece along which vines were trained in a *uinea iugata*, Varr. r. r. I 8, Colum. IV 17 and 19, Plin. n. h. XVII 164 sqq. The word has the same meaning, and is similarly misunderstood, in Manil. V 238—40 'et te, Bacche, tuas nubentem

iunget ad ulmos, | disponetue *iugis* imitatus fronde choreas, | robore uel proprio fidentem in bracchia ducet'.

x 100.

quid, stulte, nostris uersibus tuos misces?
cum litigante quid tibi, miser, libro?
quid congregare cum leonibus uolpes
aquilisque similes facere noctuas quaeris?
habeas licebit alterum pedem Ladae,
inepte, frustra crure ligneo curres.

2. '*litigante*. qui tibi litem intendit et contra te dicit *fur es*' Schrevel, 'mit meinem Widerspruch erhebenden Buche' Friedlaender. Having regard to the context, 1 'misces', 3 'congregare', 4 'similes facere', I understand *litigante* to mean *secum discordante*, a book whose contents are at strife like the elements in chaos, 'non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum'. This strife is called by Ovid *lis*: met. I 21 'hanc deus et melior *litem* natura diremit', fast. I 107 sq. 'rerum secessit *lite* suarum | inque nouas abiit massa soluta domos'.

xi 49.

iam prope desertos cineres et sancta Maronis
nomina qui coleret pauper et unus erat.
Silius optatae succurrere cenis ut cliabrae
Silius et uatem non minus ipse tulit.

This epigram is preserved only in one family of MSS: hence the plight of the last distich, which was amended, not by Heinsius, as the latest editors say[1], but by Lipsius and the

[1] Other false attributions should be corrected as follows: spect. 27 2 *feram* not Buecheler but Haupt, II praef. *atque* not Gilbert but Schneidewin, II 46 8 *tui* not Friedlaender but uiri docti apud Schreuelium (the *mei* of Scriuerius is a better conjecture), IV 23 3 *Graium* not Koestlin but Itali, XIV 201 2 *τὴν ἐπικλινοπάλην* not Gilbert but Schneidewin. *parma* at spect. 29 5 is ascribed to 'Wagner': it is true that Philip Wagner is the most eminent scholar who has borne that name, but since he is not the only Wagner who has dealt with Martial it would be wise to add the 'Philip'. At spect. 30 2 and XI 81 4 Heinsius' conjectures *lentas* and *utrique* are placed in the

Italians of the renascence, as follows:

Silius optatae succurrere censuit umbrae,
Silius et uatem, non minor ipse, colit.

This seems to be right so far as it goes, but that is not nearly far enough. *optatae umbrae* is mere nonsense, the repetition of *Silius* serves no end, and *succurrere censuit* does not possess the meaning required of it. It means 'he advised that assistance should be rendered' (Hor. epist. I 2 9 'Antenor *censet* belli *praecidere* causam', Colum. I 2 1 '*censeo* igitur in propinquo agrum *mercari*'): it is required to mean 'he resolved to render assistance', i.e. 'succurrere *statuit*'; for this, not that, is what Silius did. Mr Gilbert seems to have rightly elicited *tantae* from *-tatae*, so it remains to find a construction which will yield sense: for instance

op*tandum* tantae succurrere censuit umbrae
Silius, et uatem, non minor ipse, colit.

i.e. optabile duxit. This is perhaps more likely than

ipsius hoc, tantae succurrere, censuit, umbrae,
Silius,

i.e. hoc suum duxit.

XI 65.

sescenti cenant a te, Iustine, uocati,
lucis ad officium quae tibi prima fuit.
inter quos, memini, non ultimus esse solebam,
nec locus hic nobis inuidiosus erat.
postera sed festae reddis sollemnia mensae:
sescentis hodie, cras mihi natus eris.

The commentators' explanations of u. 6 are no explanations, and I pass them over. It means 'hodie mihi natus non es', and this phrase has two senses. Ostensibly it signifies 'I do not regard to-day as your birthday'; but it insinuates the

text without any indication of their origin. At VIII 67 10 it is not mentioned that Mercerius restored by divination the *ut iantes* afterwards found in R. At III 17 1 the credit of emending the corruption is wrongfully assigned to Goetz, who merely corrected the spelling, instead of Calderinus, who printed *scriblita* in the year 1480.

meaning 'to-day I regard you as beneath contempt'. So IV 83 3 sq. 'despicis omnes, | *nec quisquam* liber nec *tibi natus homo est*', VIII 64 18 '*natum te*, Clyte, *nec semel putabo*', X 27 4 '*nemo* tamen *natum te*, Diodore, *putat*', Petron. 58 'meliorem noli molestare, qui *te natum non putat*'. Martial alludes to the same colloquialism in XI 12 'ius tibi natorum uel septem, Zoile, detur, | dum *matrem nemo det tibi, nemo patrem*'; and Seneca plays, like Martial, with its two meanings in apoc. 3 'non est mirum si errant et horam (i.e. horoscopum) eius nemo nouit: *nemo* enim *umquam illum natum putauit*'.

XI 90.

carmina nulla probas molli quae limite currunt
sed quae per salebras altaque saxa cadunt,
et tibi Maeonio quoque carmine maius habetur
'Lucili columella hic situs Metrophanes',
attonitusque legis 'terrai frugiferai'
Accius et quidquid Pacuuiusque uomunt.
uis imiter ueteres, Chrestille, tuosque poetas?
dispeream ni scis mentula quid sapiat.

The editors before Schneidewin used to read *si scis* in u. 8; the *ni scis* of the MSS is now received but not explained. I understand the verse to have two meanings: the one 'dispeream ni scis quantum saporis habeat uirile dicendi genus' (compare Pers. I 103 sq., where new-fangled poetry like 'euhion ingeminat, reparabilis adsonat echo' provokes the enquiry 'haec fierent, si testiculi uena ulla paterni | uiueret in nobis?'); the other a mere insult, 'dispeream ni fellator es'.

XI 98.

effugere non est, Flacce, basiatores.
instant, morantur, persecuntur, occurrunt
et hinc et illinc, usque quaque, quacumque.

This theme, the nuisance of the *basiator*, is pursued through sixteen verses, and then the poem ends thus:

febricitantem basiabit et flentem,
dabit oscitanti basium natantique,

dabit cacanti. remedium mali solum est,
facias amicum basiare quem nolis.

23. 'ineas amicitiam cum eo quem osculari nolis' ed. Delphin; and the construction is thus understood by Schrevel ('cui absque offensa negare possis') and Friedlaender ('die Pointe des Epigramms liegt darin, dass man die Küsse nur durch dasjenige Verhältnis vermeiden kann, bei dem sie allein angemessen sind'). But this is an epigram against *basiatores* in general: the *malum* of u. 22 is the prevalent practice of *basiatio* at unsuitable times and places, not the kisses of any particular class or person 'quem basiare nolis'.

When a Roman reader's eye fell upon a poem written in scazons and having the word *basiator* in the first line, he knew what was coming. He knew that in the last line, if not before, he would find an obscene jest of a particular sort; and when he reached the last line of this poem, there, sure enough, he found it. The Romans had a rough pleasantry, in the form of a threat, which they used to fling indiscriminately at friends and foes without any serious meaning. It is found in its simplest terms at Catull. 16 1 and 21 8; in Martial it is elaborated at VII 55 6—8 'linges non mihi (nam proba et pusilla est) | sed quae' etc., but elsewhere disguised in euphemisms, III 83 2 'fac mihi quod Chione', 96 3 'si te prendero, Gargili, tacebis'. Few took it to heart like Asinius Pollio in Sen. de ben. IV 31 4 '(Mamercus Scaurus) Pollioni iacenti obsceno uerbo usus dixerat se facturum id, quod pati malebat; et cum Pollionis adtractiorem uidisset frontem "quidquid" inquit "mali dixi, mihi et capiti meo"'; but it was a recognised form of humour to pretend that it was meant in earnest and capable of execution. 'facias amicum basiare quem nolis' is a way to revenge yourself on your troublesome acquaintance the *basiator* and teach him not to molest you: it means 'amicum talem reddas qualem basiare nolis', 'efficias ut iste basiator talis sit qualem homines basiare nolint'. Compare Suet. Ner. 35 'in quibus Aulum Plautium inuenem, quem cum ante mortem per uim conspurcasset "eat nunc" inquit "mater mea et successorem meum osculetur", iactans dilectum ab ea et

ad spem imperii impulsum', Sen. de ben. IV 30 2 'Fabium Persicum, cuius osculum etiam impudici deuitabant', Catull. 79 3 sq. 'hic pulcher uendat cum gente Catullum, | si tria notorum sauia reppererit', Mart. I 94 'cantasti male, dum fututa es, Aegle. | iam cantas bene: basianda non es', XI 61 5 'mediumque mauult basiare quam summum', X 22 3 'basiare te nolo'.

There is a similar allusion in III 82 32 sq.

> hos malchionis patimur inprobi fastus,
> nec uindicari, Rufe, possumus: fellat.

That is 'nec uindicari possumus irrumando; fellator est enim, ut eam poenam non inuitus passurus sit'.

XII praef. fin.

tu uelim ista, quae tantum apud te non periclitantur, diligenter aestimare et excutere non graueris; et, quod tibi difficillimum est, de nugis nostris iudices nidore seposito, ne Romam, si ita decreueris, non Hispaniensem librum mittamus sed Hispanum.

nidore β, *nitore* γ, which Mr Gilbert renders 'Heiterkeit', though *nitor* never means anything of the sort. *nidore*, being the more evidently false of the two readings, is likely to be nearer the truth; and further (though this consideration has less weight) β is on the whole more faithful than γ. Munro's *nimio fauore* satisfies the most urgent requirements of the sense; but the one perfectly appropriate word in the Latin language, conveying at once the sense required and the compliment expected, is candore. *candor* is that temper of mind which impels men to think well of the work of others: Ouid. trist. V 3 53—6 'si uestrum merui *candore* fauorem | nullaque *iudicio* littera laesa meo est, | si, ueterum digne ueneror cum scripta uirorum, | proxima non illis esse minora reor', ex Pont. III 4 9—13 non opus est magnis placido lectore poetis,...nos... uiribus infirmi uestro *candore* ualemus', Sen. suas. VI 22 'ut est natura *candidissimus* omnium magnorum ingeniorum *aestimator* T. Liuius, plenissimum Ciceroni testimonium reddidit',

Mart. VII 99 5—7 'dicere de nobis, ut *lector candidus*, aude: "temporibus praestat non nihil ille tuis, | nec Marso nimium minor est doctoque Catullo"', XIII 2 8—10 'nos haec nouimus esse nihil. | non tamen hoc nimium nihil est, si *candidus aure* nec matutina si mihi fronte uenis'.

XII 3 1—4.

ad populos mitti qui nuper ab urbe solebas,
ibis, io, Romam nunc peregrine liber,
auriferi de gente Tagi tetricique Salonis,
dat patrios amnes quos mihi terra potens.

4. *amnes quos* scripsi, *manes quod* γ, *manes quae* β. *mihi* γ, *tibi* β. So I corrected this verse in 1889 in the Classical Review vol. III p. 200; but now I have further confirmation to add. *terra potens* I then defended by citing Luc. X 324: in that place however the words are inappropriate and appear to be corrupt, though the *petra patens* of Salmasius and the editors is little better; so I now substitute Manil. IV 680 'hanc *Asiae* metam posuit natura *potentis*', 690 'Thessalia *Epirosque potens*', 753 'Scythiae montes *Asiamque potentem*'. For *patrios amnes* see Tac. ann. I 79 'religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras *patriis amnibus* dicauerint' and Mart. X 96 3 '*auriferumque Tagum* sitiam *patriumque Salonem*'. The phrase *dat patrios amnes quos mihi*, for which I formerly quoted Ouid. ex Pont. IV 16 43 sq. 'maternos Cottas cui Messallasque paternos, | Maxime, nobilitas ingeminata dedit', can also be illustrated from Martial himself. The verses X 103 1—3 are printed by the editors with this faulty punctuation,

municipes, Augusta mihi quos Bilbilis acri
monte creat, rapidis quem Salo cingit aquis,
ecquid laeta iuuat uestri uos gloria uatis?

as if *municipes* were vocative and as if the good folk of Bilbilis were created for Martial. The true punctuation is 'municipes Augusta' etc.: *municipes* is accusative and the construction is 'ecquid uos, quos Bilbilis mihi municipes creat, iuuat uestri uatis gloria?'

XII 20.

quare non habeat, Fabulle, quaeris
uxorem Themison? habet sororem.

Schrevel, incredible to relate, explains *sororem* as meaning 'amicam'. Mr Friedlaender first says correctly 'ein blutschänderisches Verhältnis' and then turns his back upon himself and repeats the blunder of Schrevel: 'Ueber den Gebrauch von soror im geschlechtlichen Verkehr zu II 4, 3', that is 'o quam blandus es, Ammiane, matri, | quam blanda est tibi mater, Ammiane. | fratrem te uocat et *soror uocatur*'. What in the world has this to do with our epigram? *soror* in XII 20 2 means 'sister', 'schwester', 'sœur', the female child of Themison's father and mother; a sense of the word which is registered in most Latin dictionaries. If commentators must be writing notes they had better write notes on *habet*, and explain that it here insinuates the special meaning found in Ouid. met. IX 497, where Byblis says 'di nempe suas *habuere sorores*', and in Ter. And. 85 'quis heri Chrysidem *habuit*?'

XII 38.

hunc, qui femineis noctesque diesque cathedris
incedit tota notus in urbe nimis,
crine nitens, niger unguento, perlucidus ostro,
ore tener, latus pectore, crure glaber,
uxori qui saepe tuae comes inprobus haeret,
non est quod timeas, Candide: non futuit.

The *cathedris* of u. 1 must depend upon the *notus* of u. 2; but anyone can see that *tota notus in urbe* refuses this restrictive adjunct, and moreover that *cathedrae* and *incedere* are incongruous notions. Hence Messrs Friedlaender and Gilbert adopt Guttmann's *insidit*, which will mean that the person in question sits down on ladies' chairs; but the sense one expects is not *insidit* but *adsidet*, and *incedit* suits so well with *tota notus in urbe* that the pentameter will be spoilt by any alteration. It appears that two verses have been lost, such as these:

hunc, qui femineis noctesque diesque cathedris
< adsidet atque aliqua semper in aure sonat,
qui matronarum iungens latus usque cateruis >
incedit tota notus in urbe nimis.

See II 14 7 sq. 'Memphitica templa frequentat | adsidet et cathedris, maesta iuuenca, tuis', III 63 7 sq. 'inter femineas tota qui luce cathedras | desidet atque aliqua semper in aure sonat', XI 47 1 sq. 'femineis...dilecta cateruis | balnea'.

XII 39.

odi te quia bellus es, Sabelle.
res est putida bellus et Sabellus.
bellum denique malo quam Sabellum.
tabescas utinam, Sabelle, belle.

3. 'Encore aimé-je mieux un bel homme que Sabellus' Nisard, 'Sabellum pronuntiat...tantum bello minorem, quantum ipse bellus bono inferior est' Schrevel, '*bellus* adj.....*bellum* XII 39 3' Friedlaender in the index. They all therefore suppose *bellum* to be a masculine adjective and to mean *κομψόν τινα*. Of course it is a neuter substantive and means *πόλεμον*: the emergence of this unexpected sense is the chief point of the epigram. The same idea recurs in a very different connexion at XI 20 7 sq. '"aut futue aut pugnemus" ait. quid quod mihi uita | carior est ipsa mentula? signa canant'. And I see that the Delphin editor was right: 'magis placet *bellum* hoc loco sumi pro ipsa belli contentione'.

The modern editors, and some of the ancient, regard *belle* in u. 4 as a vocative. I have no great objection; but I should have thought it was an adverb. *belle habere* means to be in good health, so that *tabescas belle* will be an oxymoron, 'may you go off in a flourishing decline'.

XII 55.

gratis qui dare uos iubet, puellae,
insulsissimus inprobissimusque est:
gratis ne date, basiate gratis.
hoc Aegle negat, hoc auara uendit.

sed uendat: bene basiare quantum est!
hoc uendit quoque, nec leui rapina:
aut libram petit illa Cosmiani
aut binos quater a noua moneta,
ne sint basia muta, ne maligna,
ne clusis aditum neget labellis.
humane tamen hoc facit; sed unum.
gratis quae dare basium recusat,
gratis lingere nec recusat Aegle.

This was the old punctuation of u. 11, and it is rendered by Nisard 'sur un point cependant, mais sur un seul, Églé est généreuse; car, si elle ne baise pas gratis, elle' etc. This way of taking the words has at least one merit, that it finds a sense for *sed unum*; but it mistranslates *humane* and it mistakes the drift of the sequel. *humane* means 'considerately', as is plain from the parallel of II 15 'quod nulli calicem tuum propinas, | *humane facis*, Horme, non superbe': *hoc* refers to what has preceded, the 'negatio basiorum'; and verses 12 and 13 give the reason why this conduct is called *humanum*. Accordingly Messrs Gilbert and Friedlaender punctuate 'humane tamen hoc facit, sed unum, | gratis quae dare basium recusat | gratis lingere nec recusat, Aegle'. This change allows *humane* to have its true sense, but it takes all sense away from *sed unum*. To say, and to say with the emphasis of *sed*, that this is the *only* thing which Aegle 'facit humane', the *only* sign of consideration which she displays, is an irrelevancy which throws the whole epigram out of gear. Nobody is concerned to know whether Aegle is considerate or inconsiderate in anything else that she may do.

Now the last four lines of this poem, as printed above, are not in any of the MSS; they are a mosaic composed by the editors. The family γ omits u. 10 and presents in u. 11, instead of the three words *tamen hoc facit*, the two words *facit hoc*. The tradition of the family β appears to be the following:

ne clusis aditum neget labellis
gratis quae dare basium recusat Aegle

humane tamen hoc facit sed unum
gratis lingere non recusat Aegle:

verses 11 and 12 inverted, and *non* for *nec* in verse 13. I trace the divergencies of the two families to this common source:

recusat
humane tamen hoc facit sed unum
gratis quae dare basium
gratis lingere non recusat Aegle;

and I suppose that each of the two apographs made the marginal additions into one line, which they inserted respectively before and after u. 11. The passage should have been reconstructed thus:

humane tamen hoc facit: recusat
gratis quae dare basium, sed unum,
gratis lingere non recusat Aegle.

'Yet in so doing she acts considerately; for Aegle, who refuses to give a kiss unbought (yes, even a single kiss), does not refuse' etc. The use of *sed* is illustrated by Mr Friedlaender at I 117 7.

XII 69.

sic tamquam tabulas scyphosque, Paule,
omnes archetypos habes amicos.

'quos tamquam ornamento ostentet, non quibus utatur' Schrevel, 'die angeblichen Originale, mit denen Kunstsammler prunkten, waren sehr häufig unecht' Friedlaender. Why, when Martial says a thing, do his commentators suppose him to mean the opposite? The title in β is *laus amicorum*, and that is the gist of the epigram. The friends of Paulus, like the works of art in his collection, are all genuine, all patterns of true friendship straight from the Creator's hand. This is perhaps the Paulus of VII 72, who seems to have been something of a connoisseur, for Martial wishes that 'aut grandis reus aut potens amicus' may present him at the Saturnalia with 'scyphos auorum'.

XIII 71. PHOENICOPTERI.

dat mihi pinna rubens nomen, sed lingua gulosis
nostra sapit. quid si garrula lingua foret?

'quanto magis gulosis istis saperet si uox accessisset, quibus tacita lingua tam in deliciis est?' Schrevel, who refers to Plin. n. h. X 141 and 'Clodii Aesopi tragici histrionis patina HS c̄ taxata, in qua posuit aues cantu aliquo aut humano sermone uocales'. But *garrula* is not the same as *uocalis* or *canora*: 'quid si garrula lingua foret?' means 'suppose the tongue told tales'. This is the old wearisome indecency, ever fresh and entertaining to Martial and his public: lingua, si garrula foret, narraret fortasse gulosorum ora sese manducantium impura esse.

XIII 79. MVLLI VIVI.

spirat in aduecto sed iam piger aequore mullus
languescit. uiuum da mare, fortis erit.

So ought this couplet to be punctuated. The construction is 'mullus in aduecto aequore spirat sed iam piger languescit': the adjective and substantive *aduecto* and *aequore* are divided between the two members of the sentence as in XIV 178 1 'elidit *geminos* infans nec respicit *anguis*', Iuu. X 41 sq. 'tenet sudans hanc *publicus* et, sibi consul | ne placeat, curru *seruus* portatur eodem', and the passages which I have cited at Manil. I 269.

XIV 168. TROCHVS.

inducenda rota est: das nobis utile munus;
iste trochus pueris, at mihi canthus erit.

'*inducenda* sc. in Saturnalia et ludum' Schrevel, 'impellenda' ed. Delphin. No: the words mean 'I have a wheel that wants a tire'; 'rota inducenda cantho', as one says 'inducere scuta pellibus'. Perhaps the silent editors are aware of this, but the lexicographers certainly are not, or they would cite the passage for its noteworthy omission of the ablative.

XIV 216. ACCIPITER.

praedo fuit uolucrum, famulus nunc aucupis idem
decipit et captas non sibi maeret aues.

decipit! as if falcons were *decoys*. The family *a* has *decepit*; Markland, in his annotated copy of Schrevel lent to me by Mr Walter Ashburner, proposes *et capit*, which gives the right sense. It would be a slighter change to write *deicit* or *deiĕcit*; but *deicio* and *eicio* are elsewhere used by Martial only in the past participle, *proicio* and *reicio* and *traicio* and *coicio* not at all. Therefore I should rather conjecture

famulus nunc aucupis idem
accipiter captas non sibi maeret aues.

From Markland's other annotations I select the following. I 42 2 *dolor*] *dolo* (so one MS). II 46 3 *suppositis*] '*sepositis*, ut *seposita uestis* Tibull.' (so one MS). II 64 4 *saeuis...comis*] *sectis...genis* (*sectis* some MSS). II 71 5 sq. he punctuates 'credimus: illud | malo tamen, recites, Caeciliane, tua'. III 58 41 *facto*] *acto*, '*laboribus actis* St. sil. IV 4 ubi uid. notas meas'. V 7 5 *nostrae*] *notae* (so β). V 38 7 *sedetis*] *sedebis*. VII 28 10 'quod = laudem'. VIII 46 4 *totum*] *toto*. IX 59 2 *uexat*] *uersat*. X 21 6 *et*] *set*. XI 16 3 *nam*] *iam* (so β). XI 72 1 *nata*] *Natta* (so also Forcellini, and two MSS of the β family). XIV 42 2 *namque*] *quando*. XIV 131 1 he approves *qui...sumis*. *sedebis* at V 38 7 is an emendation of the highest excellence. *sectis...genis* at II 64 4 is a conjecture which I had made myself: they say that *comis* means 'propter comas'; but what does 'propter *saeuas* comas' mean? *genae* and *comae* are confused at Verg. Aen. XII 606, Ouid. her. XI 92, ex Pont. I 4 50, IV 1 30, Colum. X 261.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

A NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF THE LATIN HEXAMETER.

THE most casual reader of Cicero's Aratea and of the 64th poem of Catullus must observe that they are similar in rhythm and both somewhat monotonous. The similarity and the monotony are due to the frequent use of a particular type of line, in which accent and ictus coincide in the last three feet:

> Peliaco quondam prognátae vértice pínus
> dicuntur liquidas Neptúni násse per úndas—
>
> quis comes est Aries obscúro lúmine lábens
> inflexusque genu proiécto córpore Taúrus.

It is a smooth and euphonious type of line, easily written and easily read, and it is also very frequent in Lucretius. It was the prevailing line at a time when many of the forms attempted by Ennius had been rejected, and when other and more subtle forms had not yet been devised. It could not itself disappear or be discarded; it was a legitimate and effective form of the hexameter, not an eccentricity or affectation like the σπουδειάζων of the 'Cantores Euphorionis'; but its use was in the course of time considerably restricted. Obviously there is another type of line which shares with it the triple coincidence of ictus and ordinary accent, the line in which the fourth foot is a dactyl:

> Pharsalum coeunt, Pharsália técta frequéntant.

Let us call these lines S and D respectively, and investigate their relative frequency in successive poets. But before doing so it is necessary to define more exactly what we are looking for, and to add another class of lines—or a fringe of doubtful cases—which it will be convenient to call S′.

Under S I include lines of the strict type already illustrated, that is, lines in which the last three *ictus* coincide with a normal word-accent:

volitántem flámine cúrrum
tum lóngo límite súlcus

(it is obviously of little moment whether the first half-foot is ⏑⏑ or –, whether it is part of the same word or a separate monosyllable). I include also

deprénsum in lúce repénte,

ignoring the elision and the preposition. Under S′ I include lines in which the beginning of the fifth foot does not coincide with the beginning of a word: 'splendéntem ardóre cométen,' 'quo quámque indúcere pérgis' (though the latter might almost come under S, on the ground that the two elements of the compound were separated by a slight pause, in-ducere); rather more doubtfully, 'primúsque obsístere cóntra'; and cases in which one of the accents is a secondary one, 'fines Aeetaeos,' 'per terras frugiferentes,' 'scelus aversabile cunque est.' Beyond S′, there is a further fringe of cases which might be called S″, chiefly lines in which the fourth foot is divided between two words, one or both being monosyllables. Some of these raise difficult questions about accentuation. In order to proceed upon a simple principle, and to prevent the enquiry from becoming excessively complicated, I relegated all cases in which a monosyllable is involved to the class S″, though there are a few which might come under S′ or even S ('quae nós in lúce timémus,' 'tantúndem péndere pár est'). It is difficult to draw the line accurately: still more difficult to preserve it quite consistently in surveying many hundreds of lines in many different poets. In the case of the line D, with a dactyl in the fourth place, I have not found it worth while to distinguish a class D′. There are lines in which a monosyllable is involved which it will be convenient to call D″. It is quite likely that my statistics would be slightly modified by elaborate revision and re-counting; but I do not believe that they would be altered in a way which would affect any conclusions drawn from them. The fringes S′, S″ and D″ are often quite negligible: I shall refer to S″ and D″ only when they appear to

have some significance. It must be remembered that in an enquiry like this only rather considerable variations have any meaning. If in 1000 lines of one poet a certain kind of line comes to 19°/₀ and in 1000 lines of another to 20°/₀ the difference has no meaning at all. For Ennius there are no adequate materials. It is obvious that he assumed a large licence in the forms of hexameter he used. He used the type of line we are considering, and the ruggedness of many of his other lines may have helped to enhance its effect and give it currency:

tendebam lacrimans et blánda vóce vocábam.
tu produxisti nos íntra lúminis óras,

but how frequently he introduced it we have no means of knowing. The whole enquiry, it may be observed, is in effect an enquiry into the absence of the hephthemimeral caesura. But to count up the total of lines which have no hephthemimeral caesura would not be instructive. In the later poets, the lines which are *not* included in my classes are more or less of the type 'quid faciat lactas segetés, quo sidere terram,' where the accent and ictus diverge conspicuously in the word 'segetes.'

For the early poets, the statistics are as follows:—

	S °/₀	S′ °/₀	S+S′ °/₀	D °/₀	Total °/₀
Cicero, Aratea	37·6	0·8	38·4	4·7	43·1
„ Translations from Homer ...	43·6	3·6	47·2	1·8	49·0
„ Original poems ...	40·0	3·8	43·8	2·8	46·6
Catullus LXIV	47·5	1·0	48·5	10·0	58·5
Lucretius[1] I 1—400 ...	25·0	4·3	29·3	8·7	38·0
„ VI 1—800 ...	22·9[2]	3·5	26·4	9·7	36·1

[1] I have not admitted endings like 'ad diluviem revocari' or 'quo possint confluere undae' as instances of triple coincidence in accent and ictus. Zielinski argues for the accentuation 'diluviem,' 'cónfluere' in serious poetry and oratory, but the conclusion cannot be taken as finally established.

[2] Norden (Aen. VI, appendix p. 433) calls attention to the fact that there are no σπονδειάζοντες in book VI: was it, he asks, because Lucretius had observed that such endings were becoming an affectation in the νεώτεροι?

It is noticeable that in book VI there is a decline in S—the line so frequent in Catullus. In book V there is no such change: S is 25·9, S′ 4·6, (D 9·8).

The difference between Lucretius and his contemporaries is to be accounted for by the simple fact that he allowed himself a great many forms of line which they had discarded or all but discarded. Had he not done so, he would have had to use the line S more frequently. The fetters which they laid upon themselves would have made the composition of a long didactic poem—at this date—extremely laborious. Why were these fetters imposed? The question has been often discussed, but no very clear or complete answer has been given. The chief changes were two: (1) an ending in a word of four or five syllables, or of one syllable, ('frugiferentis,' 'animaï,' 'nulla potest vis') was interdicted—henceforth the interdict is hardly ever violated except in an occasional Hellenism or Alexandrianism like 'suave rubens hyacinthus' or a special sound-effect like 'praeruptus aquae mons'; (2) a rhythm like 'iam prope práecipitánte licébit vísere nócte' occurs for the last time in Cicero and Lucretius. As to the first of these, Leo has made it seem likely that the rule was transferred from oratory to verse, perhaps by Cicero himself. In oratory an ending like 'balneatori' was thought to be inferior in effect to 'esse viderunt.' Two feet were included in one word, 'quod etiam in carminibus est praemolle' (Quint. IX 4 65). But *why* was this 'praemolle'? Clearly the interdict would never have been accepted and almost invariably observed by later poets if it had not some intrinsic justification. L. Müller (De Re Metrica², p. 242) suggested that words of four or five syllables were avoided because in most of them a mere grammatical termination occupied two syllables (exorerentur, pennipotentum). The last foot of a line is a conspicuous and important part of it, and an inflection or suffix is weak and otiose there. It is not unlikely that this was a contributory cause. L. Müller does not propound it as the sole cause, though he thinks it the chief one—he first remarks 'videtur quidem ab elegantia alienum, quod contractis in unum verbum pedibus non satis servatur utriusque libertas ac proprietas.' Endings like 'Nonacrenae,' 'Oriona' perhaps owed their character of 'mollitia' in part to the fact that they were so much affected by a group of poets who tended to be 'molles' in their work generally. L. Müller's explanations are con-

fronted by the objection that no such difficulties were felt by the Greeks at any time. Apollonius uses endings like *ὑπερηνορεόντων, ναιετάουσιν* as freely as Homer. In Latin there was this difference, that the accent always and inevitably fell on the ictus-syllables. But it does so in the endings which were adopted as normal, 'vértice pínus,' 'íre meándo.' Was it that, when there were two words, the Latin accent rather helped to bring out the independence of the two feet? If so, L. Müller would be right in his general principle, but wrong in denying, as he does in the context, that the Latin accent had anything to do with the matter[1].

The other interdict, against a rhythm like 'vós quoque sígna vidétis aquáï dúlcis alúmnae' was observed with equal care by subsequent poets. It would be rash to affirm that this must be set down to accent—that what was avoided was too frequent coincidence of ictus and accent. The objection is obvious: why were lines like *αὖτις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής* or *πολλὰ δ' ἔναντα κάταντα πάραντά τε δόχμιά τ' ἦλθον* so rare in Greek? The answer is perhaps this. The 'trochaic' division of a dactyl is a rather peculiar and conspicuous effect. In a line like *ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα | διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε* we have the caesura characteristic of Homer (and so infrequent in Latin). It belonged to the nature of a hexameter that it should fall, not into two equal parts, but into two nearly equal parts: and here the caesura *κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον* at once and to the ear of any reader gives that effect. But if the same division occurred in several successive feet, no one of them was much more conspicuous than another, and the result was to make the line run as one whole: hence the appropriate-

[1] The rejection of an ending in a word or words of the form ≂ – ≂ has also to be accounted for. The last two feet of a hexameter are more conspicuous than the others, their structure is fixed, and the ictus was probably felt more strongly. Hence in endings like 'gelidí Capricorni,' 'pellit vada remus' there would be a rather glaring conflict or divergence between ictus and accent. ⏑ ⏑ – – is less repellent when a monosyllable precedes, 'Tu quoque magnum,' 'qui sibi letum' (see Norden Aen. VI, appendix p. 437; he suggests the divergence of ictus and accent as an explanation). But an ending in a monosyllable and a word of four syllables is not similarly tolerated, e.g. 'tu venientem': the first two syllables of 'venientem' cannot be separated and attached to 'tu' to make a dactyl like 'tu quoque.'

ness of such a line to describe the continuous movement of a rolling stone or of trotting mules. The Latin accent would emphasize such an effect and make it too conspicuous: hence while in Greek such a line is rare, in Latin it is excluded[1]. The Latin accent refused to be ignored altogether; but it was only in a rather indirect way that it affected the stricter forms of verse. In the hexameter, the tendency was—apart from the 5th and 6th feet—to reduce the coincidence with ictus: we shall find that it reaches its lowest level in Claudian. In Sapphics it has been maintained, but it seems hardly credible, that Horace aimed at setting up an accentual scheme, ínteger vítae scélerísque púrus. The Roman poet shrank from a coincidence like 'ille mi par ésse deo videtur,' and shrinking from that, perhaps unconsciously, he naturally tended to the rhythm 'dulce ridentem, misero quod omnis,' with a caesura in the dactyl. L. Müller is inconsistent in his treatment of this matter. After insisting strongly that the Latin accent was disregarded, he proceeds to admit the existence of this tendency to divorce accent and ictus. But if so, accent *was* taken into account. In Greek, coincidence of accent and ictus was *neither* sought *nor* shunned—down to the time of Babrius, when, it has been suggested, the Latin scazon with an accented penultimate syllable ('Suffenus iste, Vare, quem probe nósti') gave rise to the practice of making the penultimate syllable an accented one in Greek. In the time of Babrius, no doubt, the Greek accent was losing its purely musical character and becoming something more like the Latin accent.

Statistics for Virgil are as follows:—

	S	S′	S+S′	D	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Eclogues	12·5	1·4	13·9	14·6	28·5
Georg. I 1—200	14·5	4·0	18·5	16·0	34·5
Georg. II (542 lines) ...	15·8	5·4	21·2	9·2	30·4
Georg. IV (the last 251 lines)	15·1	6·0	21·1	10·3	31·4
Aen. VI 1—400	13·2	6·6	19·8	9·7	29·5
Aen. XI 1—500	15·0	7·0	22·0	7·8	29·8

[1] Horace's line 'dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis' is very exceptional, and it occurs in satire. The satiric hexameter is a subject for a separate enquiry. In all this discussion I contemplate only the hexameter of heroic or serious poetry.

The type S has sunk from about 45 °/₀ in Catullus and Cicero to 12·5 °/₀ in the Eclogues! Surely a remarkable change. The versification of the Eclogues might almost be regarded as a revolt, a protest or reaction against the rhythm of the preceding generation. The Eclogues, however, are drama, and in dialogue it is natural that the type D should gain ground; it is more rapid, less stately and solemn in effect. In one of the Eclogues, the only one that is not a dialogue, Virgil makes a remarkable concession to the line S, introducing at the same time reminiscences of Catullus ('talia saecla' suis dixerunt 'currite' fusis) and a σπονδειάζων (magnum Iovis incrementum). The statistics for that Eclogue are S 17·4, D 4·7.

In the Georgics, book II is the most purely didactic of the portions I have surveyed (the end of book IV is of course the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, an 'Epyllion'); and here the frequency of S, as compared with that of D, is greater than elsewhere. The figures are not such as in themselves to justify any conclusion, but it will become evident that the preponderance of S over D was a feature of didactic poetry. This was largely due, no doubt, to the influence of Cicero and Lucretius, and presumably the motive was to give greater weight and dignity to the discourse. In Virgil generally, it will be observed, S′ becomes larger than in his predecessors. Further, in Aen. XI 1—500, the lines which I collect under S″ amount to 7·2 °/₀. The meaning of this is plain. Virgil achieves variety by a free use of elision and by admitting monosyllables: 'maior agit deus atque opera ad maiora reservat,' 'dubitem haud equidem implorare quod usquam est.'

Here are similar statistics for some later poets:—

	S	S′	S+S′	D	Total
	°/₀	°/₀	°/₀	°/₀	°/₀
Ovid, Met. I 1—500	15·3	4·7	20·0	23·2	43·2
„ Met. XIV 1—500 ...	14·0	7·4	21·4	18·2	39·6
Grattius, Cyneg. 1—500 ...	23·8	6·3	30·1	14·1	44·2
Germanicus, Aratea (725 lines)	22·7	2·2	24·9	7·1	32·0
Manilius, Astr. I 1—500 ...	25·6	2·8	28·4	10·4	38·8
„ Astr. III (last 500 ll.)	22·6	4·2	26·8	6·4	33·2

	S	S′	S+S′	D	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Columella (436 lines)	22·4	0·9	23·3	18·8	42·1
Calpurnius, Ecl. I—IV (461 ll.)	19·3	3·9	23·2	25·8	49·0
Lucan, Phars. I 1—500 ...	20·0	6·2	26·2	12·2	38·4
„ Phars. VII 1—500 ...	17·6	4·6	22·2	10·4	32·6
Petronius, Frag. on Civil War (295 lines)	26·1	5·0	31·1	15·6	46·7
Statius, Theb. I 1—400 ...	15·0	7·7	22·7	14·5	37·2
„ Ach. I 1—500 ...	12·2	5·6	17·8	13·0	30·8
Val. Flaccus, Argon. I 1—500	11·0	4·4	15·4	12·6	28·0
Silius, Punica I 1—500 ...	22·2	4·4	26·6	13·6	40·2
Nemesianus, Ecl. (319 lines) ...	22·2	2·4	24·6	9·0	33·6
„ Cyneg. (325 lines)	17·8	2·1	19·9	10·4	30·3
Ausonius, Mosella (483 lines)	15·3	6·0	21·3	26·0	47·3
Claudian, De R. Pros. (first 500 lines) ...	14·7	1·8	16·5	13·4	29·9
„ De Bello Goth. 1—500	12·4	3·4	15·8	8·6	24·4

What are the facts revealed by this table? Startling and altogether new facts are not to be expected; but it may enable us to apprehend in a definite and numerical shape facts already vaguely known.

In the first place, Ovid clearly cultivates the line D. His verse is more facile and rapid in movement than Virgil's. And the Ovidian tendency can be traced in later poets: most clearly in Columella, Calpurnius, and Ausonius.

Statius, Valerius Flaccus, and Claudian follow closely in the footsteps of Virgil. Lucretian statistics—say roughly S 25, D 10—are found in only two classes of poets, didactic writers and poets of the Roman historical epos. Among the former, Columella is exceptional in the frequency of his Ovidian dactyls. Lucan's rhetorical vein no doubt accounts for his frequent use of the smooth, machine-made S[1]: 'Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carrhas,' 'certatum totis concussi viribus orbis.' In Claudian, as has been already mentioned, the total number of lines in which there is threefold coincidence of ictus and accent sinks to its lowest level; and it may be added that in Claudian there is only a small fringe of doubtful cases. S″ amounts to 2·9 and 3·2 in the two portions surveyed; and in both D″ is only 0·2. In Ovid, with the increase of D, D″

[1] See Heitland's Introduction to the Pharsalia, pp. xcix–c.

naturally increases; for Met. XIV 1—500 it is 5·8. So in Calpurnius D″ is 6·0.

Of the writers in this list, Nemesianus would, I suppose, be selected as the weakest and least classical. The statistics confirm this; he has written his Eclogues in a vein of verse which belongs rather to didactic poetry, and his didactic poem in a vein which would be more suitable for Eclogues! Calpurnius, rather more than two centuries earlier, is better inspired; he uses D largely, and S more sparingly. But in Calpurnius S, S′ and D amount to nearly 50 °/₀, and we may perhaps recognize in him the tendency to smoothness and euphonious finish which is ridiculed by Persius. Of six lines quoted by Persius from unknown authors (Sat. I 94—102), two are specimens of S, one is S′, another is D, and a fourth is a σπονδειάζων ending in 'Appennino.' 'Iuga nobilis Appennini' occurs in the Petronian verses, but I know of no other evidence for the revival of this old affectation in the Neronian age. There is no σπονδειάζων in Calpurnius. In Lucan there are fourteen (Heitland's Introduction, p. xcvii), but fourteen in a poem of the length of the Pharsalia would hardly give occasion for satire. They include, however, 'armamentis,' 'Appenninus,' and 'Orionis,' the three examples given by Quintilian (IX 4 65), though he has different cases, 'Appennino,' 'Orione.'

Thus far I have been dealing with poets whose date is more or less exactly known. Does the enquiry throw any light upon poems whose date and authorship are disputable? Very little, I fear; but I append statistics so far as I have collected them:—

	S °/₀	S′ °/₀	S+S′ °/₀	D °/₀	Total °/₀
Aetna (646 lines)	17·2	4·5	21·7	8·8	30·5
Ciris (541)	23·2	2·5	25·7	9·9	35·6
Culex (414)	19·0	1·2	20·2	9·4	29·6
Dirae (101)	30·7	0	30·7	12·8	43·5
Lydia (80)	15	0	15	6·2	21·2
Dirae and Lydia together ...	23·7	0	23·7	10·0	33·7
Moretum (124)	16·9	0	16·9	12·9	29·8
Paneg. in Messalam (211) ...	15·6	0·9	16·5	9·4	25·9
Laus Pisonis (261)	24·9	3·4	28·3	15·7	44·0
Incerti Eclogae (87)	23·0	2·3	25·3	6·9	32·2
Ilias Latina 1—500	21·8	4·6	26·4	15·6	42·0

The last three pieces in this list are usually assigned to the Neronian age. The Laus Pisonis may have been composed by Calpurnius in his youth (possibly in the reign of Claudius); Piso is almost certainly the C. Calpurnius Piso who was the centre of the ill-starred conspiracy of 65 A.D. If Piso was the 'incertus' who composed two extant Eclogues, he is as much astray in his versification as Nemesianus, for S 23, D 7 is a proportion that seems to belong to didactic poetry. The Panegyric on Messala and the Laus Pisonis appear as prae-Ovidian and post-Ovidian respectively. In the former D″ is only 0·9, in the latter 6·1 (D + D″ = 21·8). The date of the Panegyric on Messala is commonly supposed to be about 29 or 28 B.C. The Ilias Latina recalls in its versification Cicero's translations from Homer, but naturally D is much more frequent; S and D together fall short of S in Cicero.

A survey of all the statistics rather suggests the suspicion that the frequent use of S is a mark of debility in the writer; not of course in the Ciceronian age, when any writer of hexameters was comparatively inexperienced; but afterwards, and with the exception of the didactic poem and the historical epos, in which it was traditional and had some justification. Composers of Panegyrics would usually belong to the class of feeble and third-rate authors.

There remain the much-discussed 'Opuscula Vergiliana.' So far as these figures throw any light upon them, the results seem to be as follows. The Aetna and the Culex are very similar in their versification. In the Aetna S is less frequent than in some other didactic poems, but there is nothing that can be called abnormal -there is in fact close agreement with the Georgics. The Culex and the Moretum, non-dramatic idylls, are not unlike the only Eclogue of Virgil that is not a dialogue—Ecl. IV—in which S came to 17·4. Neither resembles Calpurnius. The Moretum rather recalls Columella, in the proportion of S to D, and in the marked infrequency of S′. There is nothing incredible in the supposition that Columella (like Nemesianus later) wrote an idyll as well as a didactic poem, but there is nothing to prove it either, and the Moretum is so short—124 lines—that the element of chance

is not excluded and no inference from statistics would be safe. The Dirae and the Lydia diverge strangely. Taken together, they resemble the Ciris very closely; and I have found in the Ciris at least one tract of 80 consecutive lines —the length of the Lydia—in which S occurs only to the extent of about 16 °/₀. Probably therefore the divergence is accidental and has no significance. 1000 lines or 500 lines afford a fairly solid basis for observation; anything under 200 is precarious. A particular type of line often occurs in patches; the poet falls under the spell of a particular cadence for a time and then escapes from it again. The figures for the Dirae and Lydia do not occur in post-Virgilian poetry—apart from the didactic poem and the historical epos—until we come to Nemesianus. So far therefore as they yield any inference—I do not say that in itself it amounts to anything like cogent evidence—they would tend to confirm the theory, originated by Scaliger, that the author is Valerius Cato; they place the poems between Catullus and Virgil[1].

The figures for the Ciris are practically the same, and, so far as they have any weight, they would tend to confirm the date assigned to the poem by Skutsch, who has attempted to show that the author was Cornelius Gallus. The Ciris has been the subject of much discussion recently, since that theory was propounded. It was in fact Dr Skutsch's somewhat slight and cursory treatment of metrical evidence that caused me to make the enquiry of which I have given an account in this paper. He considers three lines of evidence: (1) caesuras (an enquiry for which I propose mine as a substitute or

[1] The opponents of Scaliger's view have a somewhat difficult case to maintain, that two different poets celebrated the praises of a 'Lydia.' Some of them have even argued that the two poems are by different authors and neither by Cato, so that there would be three poets, about the same time, singing of Lydia. Schanz (Hist. of Roman Lit. § 99) rightly protests against this, but does not explain the precise reason why it is highly improbable. It is not a case like that of the Odes of Horace, where many names occur—Chloe, Lalage, Barine, and Lydia too—but clearly a case like that of Mimnermus and Nanno—Antimachus and Lyde—Lesbia, Lycoris, Delia, Cynthia—the devotion of a poet to one name. The use of the same name by another poet would be an intrusion, hardly tolerable either from a social or an aesthetic point of view.

supplement), (2) elisions, (3) σπονδειάζοντες. The precise way in which my figures lend some support to his view is this. If the Ciris was written later than the time of the 'cantores Euphorionis,' we must suppose that an imitator, besides hitting off exactly many of their qualities and methods and opinions, and introducing a likely number of σπονδειάζοντες, also so framed his verse that an analysis of it in a later age reveals a highly probable and natural infusion of the lines S and D—in fact, the same quantity of them as is found in poems attributed with something like certainty to Valerius Cato. It seems improbable. And if an objector says: 'But it was not an imitator; it was a "cantor Euphorionis," though a belated one, who wrote the poem about 20—16 B.C.,' an improbability still remains, perhaps even a greater one. 'Cantores Euphorionis' is a convenient term, but it is merely a name for a loosely defined group, not for a sect or school; a later writer was under no obligation to follow the metrical peculiarities that prevailed a quarter of a century before his time, however much he might be in sympathy with the poets who were then writing; he was not bound to be monotonous in cadence or to write excessively long sentences, after Virgil had revealed the secret of variety and conciseness. It is very unlikely that he would present the appearance of having learned nothing from more recent experiments. 'Fas est et ab hoste doceri'—but Virgil was *not* an opponent of the 'cantores'; he was in fact very much in sympathy with their tendencies, especially in his earlier years.

Much has been written about elision in Latin verse, but adequate statistics seem still to be lacking. The table given by Dr Skutsch (Aus Vergils Frühzeit, p. 70) shows frequent elision in the older poets, and in the Ciris—in Lucretius, Catullus, and Virgil 30 or 40 in every 100 lines: a notable reduction in Ovid, Manilius, and Lucan (especially in regard to the elision of a long vowel); and in the Flavian epic poets a reversion to the Virgilian standard. But no statistics are given for the Eclogues and Georgics. I find only 11 elisions in the 63 lines of Ecl. IV, or 17·4 to the hundred lines. In the Dirae there are 17, in the Lydia

13, that is 30 in 181 lines, or 16·6 to the hundred lines. In Dr Skutsch's table there is only one figure lower than this, and that is for Lucan (15·7). The test would seem therefore to be an exceedingly precarious one. The sparing use of elision was a very obvious device for attaining a smooth and harmonious effect, and it is quite likely that it was one of the experiments made by poets who were groping after a more finished style. In the hexameters of Horace's 16th epode (contemporary with the Eclogues) there are no elisions at all, and there are only a few slight ones in the iambic lines. In the Culex there are no instances of the elision of a long vowel, and Bährens (Poet. Lat. Min. II, p. 26) makes this an argument against its being a youthful work of Virgil: 'haec austeritas quam non quadret in Vergilium quamque parum sit veri simile tali severitati innutritum postea hac in re normas adoptasse liberrimas, sua unusquisque sponte perspicit.' Improbable that Virgil would grow out of such a thing! It is precisely what he did! I have counted the 'heavy' elisions in several eclogues, and I find two or three to 75 lines. In the first 75 lines of Aen. XII there are 12! I am not now contending that the Culex *was* the work of Virgil, but merely that this particular argument against it is perfectly futile and indeed tells the other way.

I do not suggest that avoidance of elision was a fashion which *prevailed*, say, from 50 to 40 B.C. There is no evidence for that, and no presumption therefore *against* assigning the Ciris to that period.

The test of σπονδειάζοντες is the only one of Dr Skutsch's three enquiries that yields any appreciable result—he quite recognizes that himself, and rightly attaches little importance to the other two. The facts are these:—

Catullus LXIV	7 %
Ciris	3 %
Lydia and Dirae	1·6 %
Eclogues	1 to 276 lines
Virgil generally	1 to 413 lines

(I have added the Lydia and Dirae, and the Eclogues. There are none in the Dirae, three in the Lydia, but one of these is

somewhat doubtful (l. 33), and if it be removed by emendation the percentage becomes 1.) Here the question or dilemma recurs: 45 B.C.? Or an extremely subtle imitator? Or a belated 'cantor Euphorionis' immersed in the versification and ideas of the past?

The controversy over the Ciris turns largely upon borrowed phrases or passages: borrowed *by* Virgil according to Dr Skutsch, borrowed *from* Virgil according to others. But that question is irrelevant to the subject of this paper and demands separate treatment.

W. R. HARDIE.

ON SOME NON-METRICAL ARGUMENTS BEARING ON THE DATE OF THE CIRIS.

THE Ciris is sometimes described as a 'cento' or patch-work, made up of passages from Catullus and Virgil[1]. The verdict causes one to doubt whether the judge (though he may have published a critical edition of the text) ever read the piece as a poem. It is a poem which has various faults, and the argumentative prooemium is heavy and obscure—to expound Alexandrian criticism in Latin verse is not so very easy a task, and it may be doubted whether Virgil himself would have done it very lucidly, if his artistic sense had not saved him from attempting the feat at all. But it is in spite of that a poem—far more so than the tedious Culex and Aetna, though not more so than the Moretum which is in its unambitious vein a work of art. The Ciris is the work of a writer who has a curious and vivid imagination and who uses words in a way of his own.

—suspensa levans digitis vestigia primis—

mori me velle negavi

ut tibi Corycio *glomerarem* flammea luto—

—ad crebros insani pectoris ictus

ferre manum—

nec minus illa tamen, revehi quod moenia Rhauci
gaudeat: et cineri patria est iucunda sepulto.

—repentino *sinuantur* lintea Coro.

flectitur in *viridi* remus sale, languida fessae
virginis in cursu *moritur* querimonia longo.

[1] Bährens, Poet. Lat. Min. II p. 31: 'poetarum et aequalium et aetate paulo antecedentium vestigiis ita est ingressus ut ex Catulli sodaliumque (etiam coaevi his Lucretii) et Vergilii carminibus flores colligeret vel potius, ut verum dicamus, subreptis undique pannis fere consueret centonem.'

—adductis tabescunt bracchia nodis—

hic velut in niveo, tenera est cum primitus, ovo
effigies animantis—

oris honos primum et *multis optata labella*—

sese cano de gurgite velox
cum sonitu ad caelum stridentibus extulit alis
et multum late *dispersit in aequora rorem.*

'Perhaps,' the critic may object, 'these passages were borrowed from some unknown poet.' Possibly: but the 'cento' theory is not really borne out by the use made of Catullus and Lucretius, whose works we know. Bährens' 'Index Imitationum in Ciri' (Poet. Lat. Min. II p. 186 f.), to which reference is usually made, is an extremely inaccurate and misleading compilation. There are serious omissions in it: for example, it ignores l. 125 and l. 519 (cf. Aen. XII 863). It compares l. 115 (Attica Cretaea sternebat rura sagitta) with Aen. IX 666 (sternitur omne solum telis), though if the writer was thinking of that passage in Virgil he must have meant that nine out of ten Cretan arrows missed their mark! Some of the coincidences or reminiscences are manufactured by Bährens himself. In l. 121 he introduces 'ramo' (unintelligible in the context). In l. 213 he reads 'ferroque manus armata *bipenni*.' I know of no evidence to show that 'ferrum bipenne' could mean anything but an axe. For which of the purposes contemplated by Scylla was an axe the appropriate weapon, for cutting off a lock of hair, or for suicide? And how easily it could be concealed—ferrum, quod veste latebat! The 'Index' takes no note of 'cepit ocellos' in l. 238, though one would suppose that an editor looking for parallel passages could not fail to recall Propertius' 'cepit ocellis.' The coincidence does not look like an accidental one. Unfortunately it does not prove anything: for Propertius was a belated 'cantor Euphorionis' and there is nothing unlikely in his introducing a reminiscence of Gallus. 'Successor fuit hic tibi, Galle, Propertius illi.'

But it is not only by its sins of omission that the 'Index' offends. It includes many passages which are of no importance

whatsoever and of which it is quite impossible to say whether they are reminiscences or not. May not a poet say 'non equidem' or 'longe lateque' or 'ante alios' or 'ultro' or 'dicam equidem' without being suspected of borrowing from a predecessor? Tennyson justly protests against criticism of this kind, in a letter quoted in his *Life* (vol. i, p. 258): 'They will not allow one to say "Ring the bell" without finding that we have taken it from Sir Philip Sidney, or even to use such a simple expression as the ocean "roars" without finding out the precise verse in Homer or Horace from which we have plagiarised it (fact!).'

Again, most of the real coincidences or reminiscences are of a kind that obviously can prove nothing: it is impossible to say which of the two writers used the phrase first. Some however do hold out hope of a conclusion: Dr Skutsch has collected several instances in which he is able to argue very plausibly that priority belongs to the author of the Ciris and that Virgil was the borrower. But these cases are rather subtle: an aesthetic element, an element of personal taste or opinion, enters into them, and they become rather complicated when one examines them closely. For example, Virgil's 'aperit ramum, qui veste latebat' (Aen. VI 406) is represented as an infelicitous echo of the Ciris (l. 280). Aeneas and the Sibyl have no reason to conceal the golden bough, and it is not a thing that would be easily or naturally concealed under a robe. No, but if it goes, Charon's angry challenge would go too (l. 357 f.), and his sudden change of attitude. It is an integral part of the scene. Norden, who had apparently suggested or agreed to Skutsch's view, retracts this in his commentary and thinks that the incident was suggested to Virgil by Apollonius (III 867 *θυώδεϊ κάτθετο μίτρῃ*, 1013 *θυώδεος ἔξελε μίτρης*). But what Medea conceals is a poison or potent drug, part of the root of a plant or a preparation from it, a very small thing; she has every reason for secrecy; and it is no passport, but freely given to Jason for his protection. The case is so dissimilar that it may not have been present to Virgil's mind at all.

What emerges from this discussion? Hardly anything,

except that there is a flaw or improbability in Virgil's story. There is some sort of presumption that priority belongs to the poet whose incident is free from such a defect. But it is not so simple and convincing a case as Dr Skutsch assumes. What evidence would be final? Possibly, but not certainly, the recovery of Parthenius' poem on Scylla would settle many questions about the Ciris.

The case of the golden bough is not the only argument of Dr Skutsch's that loses force on closer scrutiny. 'ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error—Wieso es ein *malus error* ist, wenn ein dreizehnjähriger Hirt sich in ein kleines Mädchen seines Standes verliebt, ist schwer zu begreifen; wie viel angebrachter ist das Wort jedenfalls im Munde der Scylla (v. 430)? It is possible to answer: 'it was a "malus error" because Nysa is faithless—is wedding Mopsus: it was the beginning of all this trouble and despair.' But I am not sure that there is not an answer more detrimental to Dr Skutsch's case. Was Virgil thinking of ἐμάνην? 'mala mens' is madness[1]. This raises a really important issue—the bearing of Theocritus on the question. Before considering that, I present to Dr Skutsch, by way of balancing these doubts, an instance which he seems to have overlooked. In the Eclogues (VIII 19), and in the Ciris (405), occur the lines

> dum queror et divos, quamquam nil testibus illis
> profeci, extrema moriens tamen alloquor hora.

'dum queror' is more naturally preceded by 'supprimite o paulum turbati flamina venti' than by 'nascere praeque diem—for the noise of the winds might be supposed to drown the prayer: and 'testibus illis' is fully explained in the Ciris, l. 414:

> illa ego sum, Minos, *sacrato foedere* coniunx
> *dicta tibi*—

[1] Quaenam te mala mens, miselle Ravidi, Catullus XI. 1. See Ellis *ad loc.* I feel nearly sure that 'mala mentis gaudia' in Aen. VI 278 means the unreal joy of the madman (*ἀνήκεστος χαρά*, Soph. Ajax 52). It would be a very strange phrase for the *ἡδοναί* which Norden takes it to mean (Comm. on Aen. VI, p. 208). That Seneca understood it so is not conclusive. Statius knew what Virgil meant, when he wrote 'mala gaudia matrum' (Theb. I 229), of the revels of Agave and her companions.

'dicta tibi' means 'you called me so, or allowed me so to be called, in the presence of the gods[1].'

This vein of enquiry is clearly beset with great difficulties, and a really convincing case is hard to find. Are there any cases of the opposite kind, in which a phrase in the Ciris betrays itself as clearly inappropriate and infelicitous? I have serious misgivings about 'studio iactabat inani' in l. 208 (custodia...excubias iactabat); after noting it as strange, I found that Dr Skutsch defends it (Aus Vergils Frühzeit, p. 121), but his defence is not altogether convincing. Another passage has been pointed out by a reviewer: '*sua tecta* supervolitaverit' in l. 51 seems to belong rather to the story of Procne and Philomela. Scylla is turned into a sea-bird, far out at sea.

It would be sanguine to expect any agreement about such cases. But there are at least two issues which seem to require consideration.

One of them is a serious and ingenious objection raised by a reviewer, P. Jahn, in the 'Jahresbericht.' It looks as if it might be decisive. The argument is this:—If in the Eclogues Virgil has a whole group of lines based on Theocritus, and the author of the Ciris has one of these or two of them, showing no knowledge of Theocritus elsewhere, is it not obvious that he and not Virgil is the plagiarist?

But this highly promising contention becomes rather attenuated when it is worked out in detail. Several of the passages that are common to the Eclogues and the Ciris are not in Theocritus at all (e.g. the twisted threads, 'triplici diversa colore,' and 'numero deus impare gaudet')[2]. There seem to be only three clear cases:

(i) Ciris 267

dicam equidem, quoniam tibi me non dicere, nutrix,
non sinis: *extremum hoc munus morientis habeto.*

(Ecl. VIII 61.)

[1] For this passage in the Ciris, Bährens' Index quotes Cat. LXIV 373, 'accipiat coniunx felici foedere divam' but does *not* quote Aen. II 678, 'cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquor.'

[2] 'ter in gremium despuere' is in Theocritus (VI 39 *τρὶς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσα κόλπον* and II 62 *ἐπιφθύζοισα*) and in the Ciris (l. 372), but it is not in Virgil.

(ii) Ciris 302

praeceps aerii specula de montis iisses.

(ib. l. 60.)

(iii) Ciris 430

ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error.

(ib. l. 41.)

(i) and (ii), it is clear, might very well have been written for their context in the Ciris, without any suggestion from a previous poet—'munus' is in fact more intelligible in the Ciris than in Virgil. Moreover the phrases are not exact reproductions of anything in Theocritus. Suppose that they had been written, in the Ciris, by Gallus or somebody else. Virgil was pondering over the Theocritean passage

ἐς κύματα τηνῶ ἀλεῦμαι,
ὥπερ τὼς θύννως σκοπιάσδεται Ὄλπις ὁ γριπεύς.

σκοπιάσδεται suggested to him the 'specula' from which Britomartis plunged into the sea, to be rescued, according to one story, in fishermen's nets.

καἴκα δὴ ποθάνω, τό γε μὰν τεὸν ἀδὺ τέτυκται.

'You will like that'—it will be a last gift to you—δῶρά τοι ἦλθον | λοίσθια ταῦτα φέρων came to mind, from another Idyll (XXIII 20), and as soon as the poet began to shape it in Latin, he remembered that Gallus' heroine spoke words which would suit his purpose well enough. This is only a speculation: but nothing more can be expected, and if it is not grossly improbable, the priority of Virgil ceases to be a thing which can be regarded as *proved*.

There remains 'ut vidi, ut perii.' If the author of the Ciris did not take it from Virgil, how did he come to write a line which (in the first half of it at least) follows Theocritus so closely? It is certainly difficult to find an answer to that question. The construction ὡς...ὡς (or rather ὥς...ὡς) was not uncommon. Homer had used it in a case of sudden passion (Zeus and Hera—ὡς δ' ἴδεν, ὥς μιν ἔρως πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν). Theocritus has it twice (in the passage which Virgil has before

him[1]), and in ὡς ἴδεν, ὣς ἐμάνη, ὡς εἰς βαθὺν ἅλατ' ἔρωτα). Parthenius probably knew and admired the poems of Theocritus: he may have written a similar line about Scylla, which the author of the Ciris reproduced. It is rather a slender possibility! Dr Skutsch's case now begins to hang upon the question 'why should Virgil replace ὥς μευ περὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη by something so different?' Well, there is δειλαίας in Theocritus, and if 'malus error' meant madness, ἐμάνην would account for Virgil's writing it. The slender thread threatens to snap.

The other issue which I proposed to consider is a way of putting Dr Skutsch's case which he does not himself adopt. The Ciris contains coincidences with the language of several poets, three at least. Most of these coincidences are of a quite ordinary kind, common in most Roman poets, half a line, a word or two, a turn of a phrase. But there are also a certain number of coincidences—with Virgil only—which extend to a whole line or two lines or even more. Why should the author treat Virgil differently? No doubt he *may* have had some reason for that. But the difference might be accounted for, not by his action, but by Virgil's. And taking a whole line from a predecessor is exactly what Virgil is known to do. It is certain in several instances, e.g. in the line from Ennius, 'unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.'

Now a critic of Skutsch's theory has actually brought against it the objection: Virgil does borrow one line sometimes, but never more than one (except from a Greek poet, like Aratus or Theocritus—that is a different affair altogether). In reply to this I would ask—it is here that I diverge from Dr Skutsch, who seems to regard the practice as common—what poet except Virgil borrows *as much* as one whole line? When the point was suggested to me by the review in question, I began to consider what example one could produce of the borrowing of a whole line or more: the result of a little reflection was 'there is that conspicuous case

[1] Virgil, it should be noted, has two passages before him, XI 25 f. and II 82. 'ut vidi' etc. comes from Simaetha's soliloquy, and Simaetha, like Scylla, has had recourse to magic (l. 91).

of the lines from Eumelus—several of them—borrowed *verbatim* (if the scholiast can be trusted) by Apollonius, *τὸν δ' ἔλεν ἀμφασίη ῥιπῇ στιβαροῖο σόλοιο.*' After this I turned to Dr Skutsch's book to see whether he discussed the question—I had forgotten whether he did or not. There it was—Eumelus and Apollonius[1]! And along with it only an epigram written in Doric by Callimachus in order to introduce a line of Theocritus! Also a reference to a note in Rohde's 'Der Griechische Roman,' where several other references are given, one of them to Merkel's Prolegomena—there, no doubt, a few things taken by Apollonius from Callimachus (perhaps for polemical motives now untraceable), and borrowings from Aratus, but the latter not very numerous and extending only to a word or two or the turn of a phrase.

Has not the prevalence and extent of the practice been greatly exaggerated? Is not Virgil really exceptional in his procedure?

Half-lines, cadences, small groups of words, these are borrowed freely enough, generally with some slight modification in which the poet shows his ingenuity or originality. Ovid is cited as conspicuously 'exploiting' the works of other poets: but how often does Ovid or Manilius or Lucan or Statius take *a whole line*, with little modification or none, from a predecessor? Where are the examples? 'The practice' it may be said 'was Alexandrian, and belonged specially to the "cantores Euphorionis": examples cannot be produced because their works are unfortunately lost.' On what evidence would that assertion rest? On the fact that a line 'lucida qua splendent summi carchesia mali' (the precise form of it is doubtful) is ascribed by Nonius to Catullus and by Isidore to Cinna? Or on the fact that among the 'cantores' there was a tendency to mutual admiration and what is called 'log-rolling'? There is evidence for that, but it is not a proof that they transcribed whole

[1] Homeric *κυκλικοὶ στίχοι* were of course largely used by post-Homeric poets (see Kinkel's Fragmenta Poet. Epicorum). But the Alexandrian poets were all more or less in revolt against that (*ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν*), Apollonius included—though perhaps Callimachus had denounced the Argonautica, in its first form, as too 'cyclic.' If Apollonius did take several lines verbatim from Eumelus, it was an exceptional thing.

verses from one another's poems. Is it not rather the case that *no poet except Virgil could afford to do it*, and no other poet had the same gift for doing it successfully? Virgil was acutely appreciative, he had a subtle sense for the charm of poetry not his own: and he was so great a master of verse that though probably free from conceit or arrogance he must have known well enough that even extensive borrowings could not impair his fame. I suggest therefore a modification of the argument about the Ciris—not as conclusive, perhaps, but as making it stronger. 'Transference of whole lines has occurred: that is a thing which Virgil does.' Add to this, 'and which no other poet can be shown to have done.'

When I had written what precedes, a copy of Dr Skutsch's second volume came into my hands, just published. From this I learn that two or three of the points to which I have called attention have already been raised in the course of the controversy, though not raised in exactly the same way—that 'malus error' is justifiable in the Virgilian context, that 'quamquam nil testibus illis' is clearly explained by the context in the Ciris, and that 'ter in gremium despuere' occurs in Theocritus. But the metrical argument is not resumed or carried any further: and a considerable part of the book is occupied with the refutation of objections which are somewhat frivolous and arbitrary and should never have been advanced at all[1]. The main argument still seems to me sound, if it is put in this form:—That a writer after 19 B.C. would reproduce so exactly the defects and eccentricities and metrical features of a past generation, is contrary to what we know of the way in which

[1] Dr Skutsch's suggestions are often more interesting than the points he refutes. The precise reading of l. 302, quoted above, did not concern my argument: I think that he has made out a good case ('Gallus und Vergil' p. 57) for supposing that a line has been lost in which the nets were mentioned, to account for 'Dictynna'. If so, we may imagine the passage to have been something like this:

praeceps aerii specula de montis *in undas*,
emersura freto vix tandem in retibus,
isses.

ancient writers wrote, or, if imitating, imitated. And I still think that in the course of the discussion the prevalence of the practice of borrowing whole lines has been over-estimated. What we have to deal with in connection with the Ciris is not the borrowing of trivial lines but of lines which are important and have much meaning in them. How often was that done? How often even by Virgil himself? It is fairly clear that when Servius says 'this verse is Varro's' or 'this verse comes from Calvus' he does *not* mean that Virgil has reproduced a whole line *verbatim*: and it is unsafe to print as verbally and entirely Varro's the line 'frigidus et silvis Aquilo decussit honorem' in an edition of 'Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum.' We may believe the scholiast on Apollonius when in one place he says 'Καλλιμάχου ὁ στίχος.' The verse is 'καὶ τὰ μὲν ὣς ἤμελλε μετὰ χρόνον ἐκτελέεσθαι': truly a valuable piece of property! That is a very different case from the repetition of a line like 'extremum hoc munus morientis habeto.'

The difficulty about such borrowings is so great that one is almost driven to the supposition—an obvious modification of Skutsch's view, and a thing not in itself improbable or impossible—that Virgil cooperated with Gallus in writing the Ciris and contributed a number of lines to it. If that was so, it is easy to see how the piece would come to be included in a collection of his youthful poems: and he would have no scruple about using again lines from the Ciris if he wrote them, or helped to write them, himself.

W. R. HARDIE.

EMENDATIONS AND EXPLANATIONS.

AESCHYLUS

Agam. 1276 : Cassandra speaks :

> *βωμοῦ πατρῴου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίξηνον μένει*
> *θερμῷ κοπείσης φοινίῳ προσφάγματι.*
> *οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοί γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήξομεν·*
> *ἥξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὖ τιμάορος,.....*

"*There waits for me a block*"—now how explain the next line? "A block", she means, "on which I am to be slaughtered". The construction cannot be *κοπείσης* (or *κοπεῖσαν* or *κοπείσῃ*) *θερμῷ φοινίῳ προσφάγματι* "butchered with a hot bloody stroke", for two reasons; even if it were possible to speak of a *hot stroke*, *πρόσφαγμα* does not mean (as some have wished it to mean), a *blow* or *stroke*; and *μένει με κοπεῖσαν* or *κοπείσῃ* could not mean "awaits me, *about to be* beheaded", *κοφθησομένην*; it could only mean "awaits me *after I have been* beheaded".

The construction, therefore, must in part be *προσφάγματι κοπείσης* "the sacrifice" or "slaughtered body of me butchered". The dative then, if *θερμῷ κοπείσης φοινίῳ* is sound, depends on *μένει*, "a block is in store for the slaughter of me butchered"; more probably, as is generally thought, it depends either on *θερμόν* (Schuetz' conjecture), "a block is in store for me, hot with the bloody slaughter of me butchered"; or on *φοίνιον* (Haupt), "a block is in store for me, bloody with the hot slaughter of me butchered".

The difficulty is in *κοπείσης*. Cassandra, as a prophetess, might of course visualize a block streaming with the slaughter of herself, foreseeing the future as though it had already happened, as she does in 1080—1119. But *μένει* is not the language of visualization; it is the language merely of predic-

tion; and my feeling is that in conjunction with *μένει* we ought to have, not *κοπείσης*, but *κοφθησομένης*.

Consider now two passages:

Plut. *Mor.* 597 F *τὸν Λεοντίδην ἐπέσφαξε θερμῷ τῷ Κηφισοδώρῳ* "slew Leontides while the body of Cephisodorus was yet warm". Philostratus *Κασάνδρα, Imag.* 10, describing a picture of these very murders: after slaying Agamemnon, *ἡ Κλυταιμνήστρα τὴν τοῦ Πριάμου κόρην ἀποκτείνει θερμῷ τῷ πελέκει* "with her axe yet warm". And then consider whether you would not like to read *κοπέντος*: either *θερμὸν κοπέντος φοινίῳ προσφάγματι* "*there waits for me a block, hot with the bloody sacrifice of a butchered man*", or *θερμῷ κοπέντος φοίνιον προσφάγματι* "*bloody with the still-warm slaughter of a butchered man*". See now how well the plurals follow, *τεθνήξομεν* and *ἡμῶν*.

I have little doubt about the answer,—if only it could be shown how *κοπέντος* came to be altered to *κοπείσης*. Well, it was a deliberate alteration, made by a half-intelligent corrector, who took the participle as referring to Cassandra, and therefore made it feminine. In this same play there are at least two other passages which have been subjected to precisely the same treatment: in *v.* 275, *κλύοιμ' ἂν εὔφρων· οὐδὲ σιγώσῃ φθόνος*, Flor. and Triclinius give *σιγῶντι*: and again in 283, *εὖ γὰρ φρονοῦντος ὄμμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ*, they give *φρονούσης*.

P. V. 118: read

τερμόνιον ἐπὶ πάγον πόνων
ἐμῶν θεωρὸς ἵκετ', ἢ τί δὴ θέλων;

Simplex ordo caused *ἵκετο* to be placed before *τερμόνιον*.

PLATO

Rep. 424 A *καὶ μήν, εἶπον, πολιτεία, ἐάνπερ ἅπαξ ὁρμήσῃ εὖ, ἔρχεται ὥσπερ κύκλος αὐξανομένη.*

"*ἔρχεται* κτλ.: 'goes on growing like a circle.' So Schneider, rightly. Others take *κύκλος* (1) as a hoop or wheel —"goes on with accumulating force like a wheel" (J. and C.),

or (2) as an ever-widening circle in ruffled water (Krohn, Herwerden etc.). As to (2), *κύκλος* cannot mean a circle in water, unless we insert *ἐν ὕδατι*, which Herwerden has the audacity to do. If we adopt the first solution, we make *κύκλος* a specific kind of circle: but nothing in the context warrants this. It is also very doubtful if *αὐξανομένη* can = 'with accumulating force': certainly *κύκλος αὐξάνεται* could not bear this meaning; and to exclude *αὐξανομένη* from the comparison (as J. and C. also suggest) renders *ὥσπερ κύκλος* practically otiose. The fact is that the growth of a natural (*κατὰ φύσιν*) city is just like the drawing of a circle in Plato's way of thinking. Like a circle it grows and expands, like a circle too, when its zenith is passed, it narrows to the inevitable end." So Dr Adam, soundly as his wont is. But it will be seen that the phrase, with *ἔρχεται* so curiously used, is barely sufficient to explain itself. It may however become more intelligible if we put another passage by the side of it. Sophocles *fr.* 787:

> *ἀλλ' οὑμὸς αἰεὶ πότμος ἐν πυκνῷ θεοῦ*
> *τροχῷ κυκλεῖται καὶ μεταλλάσσει φύσιν·*
> *ὥσπερ σελήνης ὄψις εὐφρόνας δύο*
> *στῆναι δύναιτ' ἂν οὔποτ' ἐν μορφῇ μιᾷ,*
> *ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδήλου πρῶτον ἔρχεται νέα*
> *πρόσωπα καλλύνουσα καὶ πληρουμένη·*
> *χὥταν περ αὐτῆς εὐπρεπεστάτη φανῇ,*
> *πάλιν διαρρεῖ κἀπὶ μηδὲν ἔρχεται.*

Yet it need not be at all to this particular passage of Sophocles that Plato is alluding; for here is another passage, *περὶ πολιτείας* also, from Hippodamus the Pythagorean in Stob. *Flor.* 98. 71: *πάντα μὲν ὧν τὰ θνατὰ δι' ἀνάγκαν φύσιος ἐν μεταβολαῖς καλινδεῖται...γενόμενα γὰρ ἀέξεται τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ἀεξηθέντα ἀκμάζει, καὶ ἀκμάσαντα γηράσκει, καὶ τέλος ὕστατα φθείρεται· τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ φύσιος ἐς τὸ ἄδηλον αὐτᾶς τερματιζόμενα, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδήλου ἐς τὸ θνατὸν ἐπισυνερχομένα, ἀμοιβᾷ γενέσιος καὶ ἀνταποδόσει φθορᾶς, κύκλον αὐταύτας ἀναποδιζοίσας.*

Considering these passages together, knowing how the Pythagoreans all spoke in the same language, knowing too how

Plato's language is everywhere suffused with the Pythagorean, and presumes a knowledge of it, I infer that all these passages derive from older Pythagorean phrasing.

The general conception of a *κύκλος* in human affairs (*κύκλος ἀνθρωπηΐων πραγμάτων* Hdt. i. 207) was a very ancient and familiar one: there are allusions to it for instance in Pindar *Ol.* ii. 22, xii. 6, *Isthm.* iii. 18, *Pyth.* ii. 89. The application of it varies, and so do the images that it gives rise to: you could speak of it as a revolving *wheel*,—the Wheel of Fortune—, or as an *orb* that waxes and then wanes: and you might either say "*the wheel has come full-circle*", or "*the orb has come full-circle*". In Sophocles and Hippodamus we have a combination of them both.

ORPHICA ed. Abel p. 91

Hymn to *Δικαιοσύνη*, LXIII:

3 *Δικαιοσύνη μεγαλαυχές,*
ἣ καθαραῖς γνώμαις αἰεὶ τὰ δέοντα βραβεύεις,
ἄθραυστος τὸ συνειδός· ἀεὶ θραύεις γὰρ ἅπαντας
ὅσσοι μὴ τὸ σὸν ἦλθον ὑπὸ ζυγόν . . . . .
12 *κλῦθι, θεά, κακίην θνητῶν θραύουσα δικαίως.*

τὸ συνειδός is *conscience*, and unless there is a lacuna, <....*the man that is*> *ἄθραυστος*, we should correct this to *αἰεὶ τὰ δέοντα βραβεύεις ἀθραύστοις τὸ συνειδός*, that is, to the righteous, whose conscience is unshattered; "for the unrighteous", he continues, "thou dost always shatter".

It is a remarkable phrase, this *θραύεις*, which we see to be so definitely an attribute of Justice; and this passage is a valuable one for the illustration of Greek poetry. *Δίκη θραύει* is one of those *ideas* on which, as I have pointed out in *Cambridge Praelections* p. 113 seqq., the poets build up metaphors. Another of these fundamental conceptions was that *Δίκη* punishes the wicked man *in time*, *χρόνῳ*. On this elementary theme *Δίκη θραύει χρόνῳ* we might proceed, if we were working in the manner of Greek poets, to play variations. *θραύειν* was used of shivering the timbers of a ship (*Hel.* 1549 *θραύσαντες σκάφος*), or of shattering a chariot on the race-

course (*Pers.* 199, Soph. *El.* 729, 745, *Rhes.* 118 *θραύσαντες ἀντύγων χνόας*, Ar. *Nub.* 1264 *ὦ τύχαι θρανσάντυγες*): and so we might speak of a sinner as shattering his ship upon the shoal of Justice at the end of his voyage, or as shattering his chariot in the *δίαυλος*, or last lap (cf. Eur. *El.* 951 seqq.).

We have in Tragedy an example of each plan: the first in Aesch. *Eum.* 556:

τὸν ἀντίτολμον δὲ φαμὶ παρβάδαν
ἄγοντα (with a freight) *πολλὰ παντόφυρτ' ἄνευ δίκας*
βιαίως ξὺν χρόνῳ καθήσειν
λαῖφος, ὅταν λάβῃ πόνος
θρανομένας κεραίας.
καλεῖ δ' ἀκούοντας οὐδὲν ἐν μέσᾳ
δυσπαλεῖ τε δίνᾳ·
γελᾷ δὲ δαίμων ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θερμῷ, (i.e. *θρασεῖ*)
τὸν οὔποτ' αὐχοῦντ' ἰδὼν ἀμηχάνοις
δύαις λαπαδνὸν οὐδ' ὑπερθέοντ' ἄκραν.
δι' αἰῶνος δὲ τὸν πρὶν ὄλβον
ἔρματι προσβαλὼν Δίκας
ᾤλετ' ἄκλαυστος, αἶστος.

The end of his *τόλμα* is *ὄλεθρος*, which is one of the key-words: Eur. *Or.* 332 *ὁ μέγας ὄλβος οὐ μόνιμος ἐν βροτοῖς, ἀνὰ δὲ λαῖφος ὡς τινάξας δαίμων κατέκλυσεν δεινῶν πόνων ὡς πόντου*[1] *λάβροις ὀλεθρίοισιν ἐν κύμασιν* "engulfs it in the billows *of destruction*". *Cho.* 934 *ἔμολε μὲν Δίκα Πριαμίδαις χρόνῳ . . . . . ἔθιγε δ' ἐν μάχᾳ χερὸς*[2] *ἐτήτυμος Διὸς κόρα* (*Δίκαν δέ νιν προσαγορεύομεν*) *ὀλέθριον πνέουσ' ἐν ἐχθροῖς κότον* "the wrath *of destruction*".

The other metaphor is in Eur. *Herc. F.* 764:

θεοὶ θεοὶ τῶν ἀδίκων
μέλουσι καὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἐπάειν.

[1] So *Theb.* 743 *κακῶν δ' ὥσπερ θάλασσα κῦμ' ἄγει κτέ.* which Soph. *Trach.* 112 imitates: *πολλὰ γὰρ ὥστ' ἀκάμαντος ἢ Νότου ἢ Βορέα τις κύματ' ἐν* (Erfurdt) *εὐρεῖ πόντῳ βάντ' ἐπιόντα τ' ἴδοι, οὕτω δὲ τὸν Καδμογενῆ τρέφει* (not *στρέφει*, it was rightly understood by Musgrave on Eur. *Hipp.* 367), *τὸ δ' αὔξει, βιότου πολύπονον ὥσπερ πέλαγος Κρήσιον* "a troublous Cretan ocean, *as it were*, of life".

[2] Cf. Parmenides *περὶ φύσεως* 14—23.

ὁ χρυσὸς ἅ τ' εὐτυχία
φρενῶν βροτοὺς ἐξάγεται
δύνασιν ἄδικον ἐφέλκων.
χρόνου . . . . . .
νόμον παρέμενος, ἀδικίᾳ χάριν διδούς,
ἔθρανσεν ὅλβου κελαινὸν ἅρμα.

The MS. reading here is χρόνου γὰρ οὔτις ἔτλα τὸ πάλιν εἰσορῶν (corrected in L from εἰσορᾶν). This is, in the first place, unmetrical. We want a rapid swinging iambic trimeter, like that which follows; the corresponding lines are βέβακ' ἄναξ ὁ καινὸς, ὁ δὲ παλαίτερος | κρατεῖ, λιμένα λιπών γε τὸν Ἀχερόντιον: so it is pretty evident there has been some transposition of the words. But now for the sense. Paley suggests reading χρόνου γὰρ εἴ τις ἔτλα τὸ πάλιν εἰσορᾶν, "For if any man presumes [εἴ τις ἔτλα for ἤν τις τλῇ or εἴ τις τλαίη!] to look to the changes which time brings, and indulges his lawless desires, he breaks down in the race in the end". As though Greek counselled τέλος μὴ ὁρᾶν! There would be some sense in "if any man presumes *not* to look to the changes which time brings". However, he adopts the MS. reading, and interprets: "χρόνου τὸ πάλιν, a reverse of time, i.e. such a reverse of fortune as is likely to be brought by time, but which the proud and wicked man dares not contemplate". Dares not! Why, τόλμα and θράσος are the very qualities that bring the wicked man to ruin: such a man τὸ τέλος οὐχ ὁρᾷ or οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ὁρᾶν, *finem respicere non curat*: but ἔτλα is not ἠξίωσεν. Nor can οὔτις mean "the proud and wicked man"; it means "no one".

χρόνου τὸ πάλιν, however, does I think mean *Time's reverse*, a notion expressed by another image in *Agam.* 468 κελαιναὶ δ' Ἐρινύες χρόνῳ τυχηρὸν ὄντ' ἄνευ δίκας παλιντυχεῖ τριβᾷ βίου τιθεῖσ' ἀμαυρόν. The phrase resembles that for *youth's reverse* in Pind. *Ol.* x. 85:

χρόνῳ μὲν φανέν,
ἀλλ' ὥτε παῖς ἐξ ἀλόχου πατρί
ποθεινὸς ἵκοντι νεότατος τὸ πάλιν ἥδη·

"*which hath come to light after long time; but even as a son*

by his lawful wife is welcome to a father who hath travelled to the other side of youth" (Myers' version). The genitives are not quite of the same kind, but in both cases the notion is that of the δίαυλος in the race-course (*κάμψαι διαύλου θἄτερον κῶλον παλιν*); Alexis *fr.* 235 *τὸν γὰρ ὕστατον τρέχων δίαυλον τοῦ βίου*, Herodas *ἐπὴν τὸν ἑξηκοστὸν ἥλιον κάμψῃς, ὦ Γρύλλε, Γρύλλε, θνῇσκε καὶ τέφρη γίνευ· ὡς τυφλὸς οὑπεκεῖνα τοῦ βίου καμπτήρ*, "on the *wrong side*", as we say, of sixty.

Prof. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff has given us a conjecture which he says is "völlig sicher", but which is not, I think, among his happy strokes:

> *Χρόνου γὰρ οὔτις ῥόπαλον εἰσορᾶν ἔτλα*
> *νόμον παρέμενος, ἀνομίᾳ χάριν διδούς·*
> *ἔθρανσεν ὄλβου κελαινὸν ἅρμα.*

This punctuation seems to me to spoil the rhythm of the passage; and we ought after the negative to have *ἔθρανσε δ'*. But what is the meaning that we get? *"For when he disregards Law and yields to lawlessness, no man dares to contemplate the club of Time"*. What the club of Time may be, and what the logic is in *"For"*, these matters are to me, I must confess, great mysteries. *χρόνου τὸ πάλιν* he considers altogether meaningless, and interprets *ἵκοντι νεότατος τὸ πάλιν ἤδη* to mean *"when he has now reached his second childhood"*. *δὶς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες* was the proverb, not *δὶς νέοι*: *πάλιν νεάζει ὁ γέρων* could only mean *renews his youth*, implying just the opposite of *δὶς παῖς ἐστι*: Teles in Stob. *Flor.* 98. 72 *παρήκμασε, καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς γῆρας· πάλιν παιδοτροφίαν ὑπομένει καὶ ἐπιποθεῖ τὴν νεότητα.*

The general sense, I hope it will be evident, must be *but Justice shatters him in time*, *χρόνῳ δὲ Δίκη θραύει*. Thus *δέ*, not *γάρ*, must be the particle. Whether we read *εἰσορᾶν* or *εἰσορῶν* makes little difference; *εἰσορῶν* I think is right (Hom. *υ* 311 *ἀλλ' ἔμπης τάδε μὲν καὶ τέτλαμεν εἰσορόωντες*): but *εἰσορῶν* must refer to the *spectators* (Soph. *El.* 749, Dem. 1410. 9) of his terrible *ναναγίαν*: Pind. *O.* ii. 74 *τοὶ δ' ἀπροσόρατον ὀκχέοντι πόνον*: Schol. *φοβερόν, ὃ οὐ τολμᾷ τις προσβλέψαι.* The true reading therefore, considering both

sense and rhythm, I conclude to be *χρόνου δ' ἄρ' ου τὸ πάλιν ἔτλα τις εἰσορῶν·* where through the placing of the words we get two stresses, first on *χρόνου δ' ἄρα*, then on *οὐ τὸ πάλιν*: "ah, but Time's *reversal* no one can endure the sight of".

There is yet another passage which alludes (I think) to *Δίκη θραύει χρόνῳ*. When in *O.* vi. 97 Pindar says of Hiero *μὴ θραύσαι*[1] *χρόνος ὄλβον ἐφέρπων*, that to those with whom the notion was familiar currency would imply *may riches lead him not into iniquity, and its succeeding retribution.*

PINDAR

Ol. vi. 74 *μῶμος ἐξ ἄλλων κρέμαται φθονεόντων*
τοῖς οἷς ποτε πρώτοις . . . . .

Not, as it has hitherto been taken, "Cavil proceeding from others envying", but "Cavil of the envious hangs *beyond all others* over those on whom": as in *v.* 25 *κεῖναι γὰρ ἐξ ἀλλᾶν ὁδὸν ἀγεμονεῦσαι ταύταν ἐπίστανται.* So *ἐκ πάντων*, Hom. Σ 431, Simonid. *Ep.* 100 (*A. P.* vii. 253). From this use of *ἐξ ἄλλων* is derived the sense which the verb has in Eur. *I. A.* 560 *τάν τ' ἐξαλλάσσουσαν ἔχει χάριν.*

Ol. x. (xi.) 24:

ἀγῶνα δ' ἐξαίρετον ἀεῖσαι θέμιτες ὥρσαν
Διός, ὃν ἀρχαίῳ σάματι πὰρ Πέλοπος
⏑ – ἐξάριθμον [Ἡρακλέης] ἐκτίσσατο

The MS. reading *βωμὸν* or *βωμῷ* or *βωμῶν* is sufficiently condemned by the fact that in every other one of the 10 stanzas the initial syllables are ⏑ –. *βωμὸν* might very easily be a visual mistake for *μολὼν*: cf. *Nem.* xi. 24 *παρὰ Κασταλίᾳ καὶ παρ' εὐδένδρῳ μολὼν ὄχθῳ Κρόνου*, and *ἐλθὼν* in *O.* i. 111.

[1] So Hermann; the MSS. have *θραύσοι*, which has so much troubled the editors that most of them (Schneidewin, Christ, Gildersleeve, Schroeder) read *θράσσοι*. The reason we find *θραύσοι* is simply that that was the form of optative in use by scribes and scholiasts: in consequence it comes by error into texts. It is possible we should read *θραιέτω* in *Isth.* vi. 39 *ὁ δ' ἀθανάτων μὴ θρασσέτω φθόνος.*

The only probable alternative I see—and I should like it better because otherwise the nominative is so long deferred—is *ἀνὴρ*, the vague description followed in a secondary clause by the proper name *Ἡρακλέης*, a device which is employed more frequently by Pindar than by any other writer. The gloss *Ἡρακλέης* (from *v.* 30) dislodges *ἀνὴρ*, and the fact of the 12 altars was familiar enough knowledge (Apollodorus p. 93, Hesych. I. p. 424) to cause the introduction of *βωμῶν*: or *βωμῷ* (a v. l.) is adscribed from *O.* i. 93 *πολυξενωτάτῳ παρὰ βωμῷ· τὸ δὲ κλέος . . . . . Πέλοπος.*

Pyth. ii. 35

εὐναὶ δὲ παράτροποι ἐς κακότατ' ἀθρόαν
ἔβαλον ποτὶ καὶ τὸν ἱκόντ'· ἐπεὶ νεφελᾷ παρελέξατο.

In advocacy of the MS. tradition it might be suggested that *ποτὶ—ἱκόντα* is an allusion to the *name* *Ἰξίων*. He was the first *petitioner*, *ἱκέτης*, for purification from bloodshed; and Aeschylus appears to see that meaning in his name, *Eum.* 444 *σεμνὸς προσίκτωρ ἐν τρόποις Ἰξίονος.* Pindar may be giving another application to the word.

Pyth. ii. 82 *δόλιον ἀστόν· ὅμως μὰν σαίνων ποτὶ πάντας ἄγαν διαπλέκει.* In place of *ἄγαν*, which will not scan, the conjecture commonly adopted has been *ἀγάν* 'a bend'. For the various ways in which this has been interpreted, and for other conjectures, it will be kinder to refer to Schroeder's note. I will only say that whether or not it was possible in Greek to *weave a bend*, the expression would have conveyed nothing here to a Greek mind. Greek serpents did not fawn; nor did the Greek dog behave according to the pronouncement of Prof. Gildersleeve: "*ἀγή*, 'bend', is not the doubling of the fox, but the peculiar fawning way in which the dog makes an arc of himself." I should have said that it was more peculiar to the cat:—but probably this dog is of the same breed as that which certain critics of *Agam.* 1228 have described as *stretching out a smiling ear.* The Greek conception was that *Treachery* by *fawning* lures into the *Net* of *Harm*: *δολόμητιν δ' ἀπάταν θεοῦ τίς ἀνὴρ θνατὸς ἀλύξει; φιλόφρων γὰρ σαίνουσα*

τὸ πρῶτον παράγει βροτὸν εἰς ἄρκυας ἄτας[1] Aesch. *Pers.* 94. How this idea is developed in the Agamemnon I have shown in *Cambridge Praelections*, pp. 117, 120, 134. The obvious ἄταν Heyne did indeed conjecture; yet hardly a single critic has approved it; Hermann, who had given his approval once, withdrew it afterwards in favour of this same misguided ἀγάν.

Pyth. iv. 286:

οὐδὲ μακύνων τέλος οὐδέν· ὁ γὰρ
καιρὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπων βραχὺ μέτρον ἔχει.
εὖ νιν ἔγνωκεν· θεράπων δέ οἱ, οὐ δράστας ὀπαδεῖ.

Schol. ὀπηδεῖ δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ αὐτῷ (ὁ καιρὸς) ὡς θεράπων, οὐχὶ δράστης καὶ φυγάς, ἀλλὰ θεράπων εὔνους: "καιρὸς waits as a minister upon Damophilus, not as a runaway and fugitive, but as a willing minister". Bergk says "olim conieceram θεράπων δέ τοι, ut sit: Damophilus fidus tibi minister" ("a faithful minister to thee, Arcesilas"). Prof. Gildersleeve: "The Greeks conceive Time and man as companions (ὁ χρόνος συνών, Soph.). If as Hesiod says, Day is sometimes a step-mother, sometimes a mother to a man (O. et D. 825), so a man may be a son or a step-son to Time—an attendant (θεράπων), as Patroklos was on Achilles, or a mere drudge. A θεράπων is one who has rights, who can avail himself of an opportunity without servility."

But χρόνος is a very different thing from καιρός: a man was not said in Greek ὀπαδεῖν χρόνῳ: nor in the text is there anything whatever about either son or stepson.

This too is a good example to illustrate what I have been urging lately, that until we are familiar with Greek *ideas*, we shall never be able to read Aeschylus or Pindar or Greek literature generally with the right intelligence. καιρός is the *proper point* in time or place, and καιρὸν γνῶναι was one of the cardinal Greek maxims, attributed to the Seven Sages: *to recognise the proper moment*, or *degree*. *Ol.* xiii. 47 ἕπεται δ' ἐν ἑκάστῳ μέτρον· νοῆσαι δὲ καιρὸς ἄριστος "a just measure goes with everything, and the right point is most excellent to know" (as *Nem.* v. 18 καὶ τὸ σιγᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶ σοφώτατον

[1] Or ἄτα, or ἀρκύστατ' ἐς ἄτας.

ἀνθρώπῳ νοῆσαι: not, as Jebb on Bacchyl. xiii. 17, "and to discern it is the highest opportuneness").

They said, again, that it was a prudent thing *καιροῖς ἕπεσθαι*, to *wait on circumstances*, so as to *seize the proper moment*, occasion, opportunity. To *go with the times* might be a good thing or a bad; to be an opportunist in excess, to be a *time-server*, was a condemnable thing; and to be the *slave of circumstances*, pitiable. All our phrases are derived, mostly through the Latin, from the Greek: e.g. *τοῖς καιροῖς ἕπεσθαι* Plut. *Pomp.* 17, *τοῖς γὰρ καιροῖς ἀνάγκη συμπεριφέρεσθαι* Aeschines 50. 16, the time-serving Theramenes *πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἁρμόζοντα.....καθομιλῶν τοῖς καιροῖς* schol. Ar. *Ran.* 541, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα πράττειν ὅσα τις βούλεται, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη παρέπεσθαι καὶ δουλεύειν τῇ χρείᾳ καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ καιρῷ· ὁ δὲ δίδωσιν οὐχ ὅσα τις ἐθέλει ἀλλ' ὅσα πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἀνάγκη μετρεῖν* Liban. *Epist.* 1567 (Herodas ii. 9 *καὶ ζῶμεν οὐχ ὡς βουλόμεσθ' ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμέας ὁ καιρὸς ἕλκει*), *tempori cedere, id est necessitati parere, semper sapientis est habitum* Cic. *Fam.* iv. 9. 2, *τοὺς καιροὺς θεραπεύειν* Dem. 327. 26, *καιρὸν θωπεύοντας* Pseudo-Phocyl. 93, *καιρῷ λατρεύειν ibid.* 121, *καιρῷ δουλεύειν Anth. Pal.* ix. 441, *τῷ τε καιρῷ καὶ τῇ χρείᾳ ἐδούλευσε* Dio Cass. LXIII. 5, *ὁρῶν ἀπαραίτητον ἐπικειμένην ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ᾧ δουλεύουσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν* Plut. *Arat.* 42.

Yet the scholiast supposes *καιρός* to be waiting on Damophilus; and I quote it to show *quam minima scientia scribantur scholia.*

Nem. i. 62. Teiresias foretold of Heracles

ποίαις ὁμιλήσει τύχαις,
ὅσσους μὲν ἐν χέρσῳ κτανών,
ὅσσους δὲ πόντῳ θῆρας ἀϊδροδίκας·
καί τινι σὺν πλαγίῳ
ἀνδρῶν κόρῳ στείχοντι τὸν ἐχθρότατον
φᾶσέ νιν δώσειν μόρον.

This is certainly a sound expression: Hom. I 571 *παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον*, Θ 166 *πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω*, Quint. Smyrn. iii. 265 *ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ τοῖς | δώσω ἐπεσσυμένοις θάνατον καὶ*

κῆρας ἐρεμνάς: and to my mind is more probable than any of the other conjectures which have been made for the corrupt MS. reading *καί τινα σὺν πλαγίῳ ἀνδρῶν κόρῳ στείχοντα κτέ.* The preceding accusatives might easily have caused an inattentive copyist to write *τινα* and *στείχοντα.*

Nem. iv. 36 *ἔμπα, κεῖπερ ἔχει βαθεῖα ποντιὰς ἅλμα, ἀντίτειν' ἐπιβουλίᾳ· σφόδρα δόξομεν | δαΐων ὑπέρτερον ἐν φάει καταβαίνειν· φθονερὰ δ' ἄλλος ἀνὴρ βλέπων | γνώμαν κενεὰν σκότῳ κυλίνδει | χαμαὶ πετοῖσαν.* In *βαθεῖα ποντιὰς ἅλμα* Pindar's meaning in reference to his own position is *the island* (Trag. frag. *Σέριφος ἅλμῃ ποντίᾳ περίρρυτος*), that is, the island poets, Simonides and Bacchylides, one or both. He uses the same word with the same intention in *Pyth.* ii. 79 *ἅτε γὰρ εἰνάλιον πόνον ἐχοίσας βαθύ | σκευᾶς ἑτέρας ἀβάπτιστός εἰμι, φελλὸς ὡς ὑπὲρ ἔρκος,—ἅλμας*: where the *εἰμί* with a sudden unexpected turn applies the counsel to himself, and the *ἅλμας*, carefully deferred, is brought out with a telling emphasis.

This I believe to be the explanation of the much-debated dual in *Ol.* ii. 86 *σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ· | μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι παγγλωσσίᾳ κόρακες ὡς ἄκραντα γαρύετον | Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον.* You think that he is only speaking generally, when with a sudden stroke he gives it a particular application, which is unmistakable.

Perhaps Bacchylides, v. 30, may have intended something of the same effect when after describing the flight of the eagle he concludes his long sentence not, as you expect, *ἀρίγνωτος μετ' οἰωνοῖς ἰδεῖν*, but *μετ' ἀνθρώποις*——converting it with one word into a *human* eagle.

The *μαθόντες* in *Ol.* ii. 87 ought to have persuaded critics that the right construction of *Pyth.* ii. 72 is *γένοι' οἷος ἐσσί· μαθὼν, 'καλός' τοι πίθων, παρὰ παισὶν αἰεὶ καλός· I would have you show yourself as what you are.* Bergk alone has given this division of the sentence, adducing Ael. *H. A.* v. 26 *καὶ ὀρχεῖται γοῦν (ὁ πίθηκος) ἐὰν μάθῃ, καὶ αὐλεῖται ἐὰν διδάξῃς.* Eustath. *Opusc.* p. 25 *καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν εὔχομαι τὰ ἐς μνήμην τοῦ κακοῦ τοιοῦτος εἶναι διὰ βίου οἷός εἰμι, παραξέσαι τὸ τοῦ*

λυρικοῦ. There is still better illustration for the purpose in Lucian i. 603—606: *Piscator* 34 *κολακευτικώτεροι δὲ τῶν πιθήκων...*36 *λέγεται δὲ καὶ βασιλεύς τις Αἰγύπτιος πιθήκους ποτὲ πυρριχίζειν διδάξαι καὶ τὰ θηρία—μιμηλότατα δέ ἐστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων—ἐκμαθεῖν τάχιστα καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι ἁλουργίδας ἀμπεχόμενα καὶ προσωπεῖα περικείμενα· καὶ μέχρι γε πολλοῦ εὐδοκιμεῖν τὴν θέαν· ἄχρι δή τις θεατὴς ἀστεῖος κάρυα ὑπὸ κόλπου ἔχων ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὸ μέσον· οἱ δὲ πίθηκοι ἰδόντες καὶ ἐκλαθόμενοι τῆς ὀρχήσεως, τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἦσαν, πίθηκοι ἐγένοντο ἀντὶ πυρριχιστῶν.* The next best illustration will be found in Plat. *Gorg.* 464 C—E, and Plut. *Mor.* 56 D.

Pindar's *πίθων* applies here both to the flatterer and to the flattered; the addition of *μαθών* points the further application to his own competitors.

Nem. iv. 54 *Παλίου δὲ πὰρ ποδὶ λατρίαν Ἰαωλκόν,* | *πολεμίᾳ χερὶ προστραπών,* | *Πηλεὺς παρέδωκεν Αἰμόνεσσιν,* | *δάμαρτος Ἱππολύτας Ἀκάστου δολίαις* | *τέχναισι χρησάμενος.* Bergk (after Heyne) and Schroeder read *προτραπών*: but Dissen Donaldson and Bury are right in taking *προστραπών* to mean *having turned towards it with the hand*—not of supplication—but *of war*. It is the adjective, with its implied antithesis, which enables him to use the verb in this way; for the usual phrase was Eur. *Supp.* 110 *πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἦλθον ἱκεσίᾳ χερί.* Sophocles might seem to be imitating this expression in *El.* 1377 *ἥ σε πολλὰ δὴ* | *ἀφ' ὧν ἔχοιμι λιπαρεῖ προὔστην χερί.*

The interpretation "having *experienced* the treacherous designs of Hippolyta" is not defensible by any parallel I know. *ἀνδρὸς πίστει χρησάμενος δολίου* in Aristotle's epigram (Diog. Laert. v. 5) means, as we should expect, "having *employed* treachery". But Prof. Bury I believe is right in retaining *χρησάμενος* and understanding it: "Peleus dealt with the sly arts of Hippolyta and used them for his own purpose. They led to his sacking Iolcus; that was the use he made of them. Cf. Schol. *χολωθεὶς ταῖς γενηθείσαις ἐξ Ἀκάστου γυναικὸς τέχναις καὶ ταύταις εἰς πόρθησιν τῆς Ἰωλκοῦ αἰτίᾳ χρησάμενος ὅτι ἐπεβουλεύθη.*" He used them as a *pretext*, turning them

to good effect. Prose would usually say *καταχρησάμενος*: e.g. Aristid. I. 201 fin. *οὐ γὰρ εἰς φόβον τὴν θέαν ἔτρεψαν, ἀλλ' εἰς προθυμίαν κατεχρήσαντο.* Dem. 277 *κενῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ κατεχρῶ.*

Nem. vii. 86 *σέο δὲ προπρεῶνα μὲν ξεῖνον ἀδελφέον τε.* This strange word, which the schol. without other remark interprets by *πρόθυμον*, Prof. Bury suggests may be connected with the Latin *proprius*. Whatever may be its derivation, I think we have two corrupted records of it in Hesychius: *προπεῶντες: προεστῶτες*, and *πρόπωνα: εὐκρατῆ. εὔφημα. πρόχειρα. ἕτοιμα. ἀνεμπόδιστα.* The first (see my note on *μαζόντα* in Hesych. III. 63) I think should be *προπ(ρ)εῶνες*, and the second *προπ(ρ)ῶνα*. The explanations in the second case favour the view that it is the same word as *προ-πρηνής*, *proclivis*, and agree with the *πρόθυμον* of the schol. The other possibility is *προπεών* from *πρέπω*, like *τοκέων* from *τέκ-*. In place of the *foedus Ionicismus* to which Boeckh objected, Schroeder writes *προπραονα*—and might as well have written it *προπρᾶνα*—but whoever wrote it *προπρεῶνα* must have known it in that form, presumably from Epic.

The *μὲν* can only mean *προπ. μὲν ξεῖνον, προπ. δ' ἀδελφέον.*

Isth. iii. 5 *ζώει δὲ μάσσων*
ὄλβος ὀπιζομένων, πλαγίαις δὲ φρένεσσιν
οὐχ ὁμῶς πάντα χρόνον θάλλων ὁμιλεῖ.

A proverbial saying, that righteous wealth abides, while the unrighteous is not *παραμόνιμος*: *Nem.* viii. 17 *σὺν θεῷ γάρ τοι φυτευθεὶς ὄλβος ἀνθρώποισι παρμονώτερος.* Surely then we should read *ζώει δὲ μᾶσσον lives longer*: *Pyth.* iii. 105 *ὄλβος οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν ἀνδρῶν ἔρχεται πολύς* (*παμπολὺς* Dissen, *ἦ πολὺς* Bergk) *εὖτ' ἂν ἐπιβρίσαις ἔπηται.*

Isth. v. (iv.) 7 *ἔν τ' ἀγωνίοις ἀέθλοισι ποθεινόν | κλέος ἔπραξεν, ὅντιν' ἀθρόοι στέφανοι | χερσὶ νικάσαντ' ἀνέδησαν ἔθειραν | ἢ ταχυτᾶτι ποδῶν. | κρίνεται δ' ἀλκὰ διὰ δαίμονας ἀνδρῶν.*

"*Through God is the might of men approved*" Mr Myers. "*Becomes distinguished*" Dr Fennell. "*The trials of men's*

strength are held on account of the gods," i.e. "in honour of the gods" Metzger. "*The might of men is discerned on account of daemons*" Prof. Bury. "διὰ δαίμονος Heyne, prob. Boeckh, recep. Hartung, male; nam et paraphr. διὰ τοὺς θεούς egregie confirmat accusativum nec poeta cur 'propter deos' quam 'per deum' dicere maluerit obscurum" Schroeder,—who might have told us, since it is not obscure to him, what *propter deos* means.

No idea is more important than this for Pindar, and I hope before long to give a full account of it, which is sadly wanted, especially for his sake and for Aeschylus'. But here I will only state its main features for immediate purposes.

δαίμων, the *Apportioner*, is a personification of the μοῖρα, or *portion*, which is assigned to every man at birth and corresponds precisely to the *star* assigned him by astrology. This ancient fatalistic notion coloured popular views for a long time, and to the last survived in phrases, εὐδαίμων, κακοδαίμων, βαρυδαίμων: just as *lucky star* and *ill-starred* and *disastrous* have survived with us. But in literature it is characteristically Orphic and Pythagorean. A man's δαίμων attends him through the whole course of his life, and also after death: αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἔχει τὸν δαίμονα, *quisque suos patimur Manes*, as Virgil rather unintelligibly rendered it: he would better have said *genium*.

In Pindar δαίμων γενέθλιος (*O.* xiii. 105) is exactly a *synonym* of πότμος συγγενής; a man's own individual μοῖρα, *genius*: this is habitually his meaning in δαίμων and δαιμόνιος. For example, *O.* ix. 100 τὸ δὲ φυᾷ κράτιστον ἅπαν· πολλοὶ δὲ διδακταῖς | ἀνθρώπων ἀρεταῖς κλέος | ὥρουσαν ἀρέσθαι . . . . . σοφίαι μὲν | αἰπειναί· τοῦτο δὲ προσφέρων ἄεθλον, | ὄρθιον ὦρυσαι θαρσέων, | τόνδ' ἀνέρα δαιμονίᾳ γεγάμεν | εὔχειρα κτέ. Mr Myers renders this: "The natural is ever best: yet many men by learning of prowess essay to achieve fame . . . . . Skill of all kinds is hard to attain unto: but when thou bringest forth this prize, proclaim aloud with a good courage that by fate divine this man at least was born deft-handed . . . . ." This to an English reader would mean something quite different from what Pindar means. The sense is altogether lost through a fault which in many other places vitiates a translation of distinguished merit—failure to see from the position of them

the emphatic words. Pindar's meaning is: "In everything the *natural* is best; but there be many that essay to achieve fame by prowess *learned*. Skilled arts are steep to climb; but when you bring to him *this* prize, you may be bold to shout aloud that *this* man was *by natal portion born* deft-handed." It is on δαιμονίᾳ—which Prof. Gildersleeve in his paraphrase omits entirely—that the strongest stress of all is thrown; because this is the conclusion which has been carefully prepared before. φυᾷ is the meaning, by the gift of *genius* at birth, δαιμονίᾳ answering, in all its applications, to the μοιριδίῳ which comes at the same point in the corresponding line 26: εἰ σύν τινι μοιριδίῳ παλάμᾳ | ἐξαίρετον Χαρίτων νέμομαι κᾶπον· | κεῖναι γὰρ ὥπασαν τὰ τέρπν'· ἀγαθοὶ δὲ καὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ δαίμον' ἄνδρες | ἐγένοντο: "By favour of the deity" Donaldson: "'in divine measure', the opposite to κατ' ἄνθρωπον" Dr Fennell: "κατ' αἶσαν" Prof. Gildersleeve. Mr Myers: "so be it that my hand is blessed at all in labouring in the choice garden of the Graces; for they give all pleasant things to men. By fate divine men receive also valour and wisdom": again failing to see that κατὰ δαίμονα is the predicate, and so missing all the sense. μοιριδίῳ and κατὰ δαίμονα mean the same thing, and in these words lies the point: "if it be with any *heaven-apportioned* cunning that I tend the garden of the Graces: for they it is that bestow all pleasantness, and men are found with skill and worth *according to their natal gift*".

A man may do his best, and get the praise for doing it; but in any crisis what eventually determines the result for him is this same πότμος συγγενής, the δαίμων he was yoked with (ᾧ συνεζύγη) from his birth: *Nem.* v. 38 ἔνθα . . . . σθένει γυίων ἐρίζοντι θάμα· πότμος δὲ κρίνει συγγενὴς ἔργων περί | πάντων (so punctuate) "*where men do oftentimes contend:—but in all doings it is natal fortune that decides the issue*". Or, synonymously, δαίμων κρίνει: Hom. Η 291 μαχησόμεθ', εἰς ὅ κε δαίμων ἄμμε διακρίνῃ, δώῃ δ' ἑτέροισί γε νίκην. Bacchyl. xvi. 45 πρόσθε χειρῶν βίαν δείξομεν· τὰ δ' ἐπιόντα δαίμων κρινεῖ. Eur. *Phoen.* 1664 ἔκριν' ὁ δαίμων (with 1655 οὐκοῦν ἔδωκε τῇ τύχῃ τὸν δαίμονα[1]). Explicitly

[1] A curious expression, based, I suppose, upon a misinterpretation of Hom. Θ 166 πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω.

in Dem. ἐπιτάφιος (which, like that in the *Menexenus*, is couched in the conventional terms) 19 p. 1394: τὸ μὲν γὰρ κρατεῖν ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν, ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων παραδῷ, κρίνεται· ὃ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἕκαστον ἔδει παρασχέσθαι (his duty) πᾶς ὁ μένων ἐν τάξει πεποίηκεν. *ib.* 21 ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ πάντων κύριος δαίμων, ὡς ἠβούλετ', ἔνειμεν τὸ τέλος, ..., *ib.* 31 ἡνίκ' οὖν ὁ δαίμων ἄλλῳ τἀριστεῖ' ἐδίδου, ... The issue is "*decided according as the δαίμων has bestowed*".

It should be clear by this time what must be the punctuation and the meaning of *Isth.* v. 10: . . . . ἢ ταχυτᾶτι ποδῶν· κρίνεται δ' ἀλκὰ διὰ δαίμονας ἀνδρῶν: "*or in fleetness of foot:—but the might of men is decided according to their fates*", or *stars*, or *natal gifts*.

But how can that meaning be conveyed by διὰ δαίμονας? It is impossible. Here also we must read κατὰ δαίμονας. When κατὰ in consequence of the preceding κα had been omitted, διὰ was inserted in its place. διὰ was the particle with which it was the regular habit of grammarians to explain accusatives apparently without construction.

I will add a passage which I feel fairly certain is derived from ancient lyric; probably from Pindar: Plut. *Mor.* 586 A ἐπέγνω ὅτι . . . . χρῷτο ταὐτῷ δαίμονι πρὸς τὸν βίον, εἰ μὴ κακὸς ἐγὼ τεκμήρασθαι τῷ πλῷ τὸν κυβερνήτην. εὐρεῖαι γὰρ ἀτραποὶ βίων, ὀλίγαι δ' ἃς δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους ἄγουσι.

Eustath. *Vit. Pind.* (Westermann *Biog.* p. 91) ὧν δὴ θυγατέρων μέμνηται καὶ ἐπίγραμμα παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνο·

> ἦ μάλα Πρωτομάχη τε καὶ Εὔμητις λιγύφωνοι
> ἔκλαυσαν πινυταὶ Πινδαρίου θύγατρες,
> Ἀργόθεν ἦμος ἵκοντο κομίζουσ' ἔνδοθι κρωσσοῦ
> λείψαν' ἀπὸ ξείνης ἀθρόα πυρκαΐης.

Boeckh wrote the dual, κομιζούσ' ἔνδοθι: but this leaves the verse as bad as before. The author of the epigram is a capable verse-writer, and we may safely restore to him the other dual, κομίζοντ' . . . . See Jebb *Appendix* on *O. C.* 1676.

THEBAID (Ath. 466 a) *Frag. Epic.* p. 11 Kinkel

αἶψα δὲ παισὶν ἑοῖσι μεταμφοτέροισιν ἐπαρὰς
ἀργαλέας ἠρᾶτο (θεῶν δ' οὐ λάνθαν' Ἐρινύν),
ὡς οὔ οἱ πατρῴῃ' ἐνηέϊ <ἐν> φιλότητι
δάσαντο, ἀμφοτέροισι δ' ἀεὶ πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε . . .

δάσσαιντο Hermann, which the editors adopt. That might stand if we had *ὡς μή*; but *ὡς οὐ δάσσαιντο* is the statement of a fact, 'that they had not.' We require *ὡς οὐ δάσσοιντο* 'that they *should not*': Soph. *O. T.* 1270 *ἄρας ἔπαισιν ἄρθρα τῶν αὑτοῦ κύκλων, αὐδῶν τοιαῦθ', ὁθούνεκ' οὐκ ὄψοιντό νιν . . . . ἀλλ' ἐν σκότῳ τὸ λοιπὸν οὓς μὲν οὐκ ἔδει ὀψοίαθ', οὓς δ' ἔχρῃζεν οὐ γνωσοίατο.*

ALEXANDER AETOLUS Ath. 699 c

ὡς Ἀγαθοκλῆος λάσιαι φρένες ἤλασαν ἔξω
πατρίδος. ἀρχαίων ἦν ὅδ' ἀνὴρ προγόνων,
εἰδὼς ἐκ νεότητος ἀεὶ ξείνοισιν ὁμιλεῖν
ξεῖνος· Μιμνέρμου δ' εἰς ἔπος' ἄκρον ἰὼν
παιδομανεῖ σὺν ἔρωτι πότην ἶσον. ἔγραφε δ' ὠνὴρ . . .

For *σὺν ἔρωτι πότην ἶσον* the conjectures are: Hermann *σὺν ἔρωτι πτόημ' ἴσον*: Meineke (*Analect. Alexand.* p. 231) *σὺν ἔρωτι πόθημ' ἴσον*, or *σὺν ἔρῳ πτοίημ' ἴσον*, or *πτοιὴν ἴσος*, or *πόθον ἤνεσεν* or *πότον ἤνεσεν*: Kaibel *σὺν ἔρῳ τρίβον ἤνυσεν*. But *ποτὴν ἴσον* is too good not to be true: Hom. *ε* 337 *αἰθυίῃ δ' εἰκυῖα ποτὴν ἀνεδύσετο λίμνης*. This was a passage which exercised the critics: some rightly interpreted *ποτήν flight*, others *form*: Hesych. *ποτήν: ἰδέαν. οἱ δὲ πτῆσιν.* There was a v. l. *ποτῇ*[1], and some read *ποτή* in the nominative: Hesych. *ποτή: ποτηνή, πτηνή.* It was just a word evidently for an Alexandrian to use; and it is used by Aratus 278 *εὐδιόωντι ποτὴν ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς.*

[1] An easy error, just like *Bacch.* 910 where the ms. reading is *πρέπεις δὲ Κάδμου θυγατέρων μορφῇ μιᾷ* for *μορφήν.*

But I think we certainly require a finite verb; and there must therefore be a lacuna of two half-lines and the intermediate pentameter:

παιδομανεῖ συν ἔρωτι < . . . . .
. . . . . > ποτὴν ἴσον·

with another dative before ποτήν—possibly Ἀνακρείοντι.

SYNESIUS Δίων

Migne *Patrolog.* LXVI p. 1142, Reiske's Dio Chrys. I p. 31.

p. 52 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια πρᾶγμα ἐκκείμενον οὐδὲ καταβεβλημένον οὐδὲ θήρᾳ ληπτόν: "*neque tale quidpiam, quod venationi parari possit*". Is it not? Then what is it to be captured by? Why seek it if it is not to be found? This was not the view of any Greek, or of Synesius, with whom elsewhere it is a virtue διὰ πάσης ἐλθεῖν βασάνου μετιόντα καὶ θηρώμενον τὴν ἀλήθειαν. No, the other epithets show that what he meant was οὐκ εὐθήρατον, not to be caught *easily*, that is, in Greek phraseology, οὐ θατέρᾳ ληπτόν: a phrase used by Plato *Sophist.* 226 A ποικίλον εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ θηρίον, καὶ, τὸ λεγόμενον, οὐ θατέρᾳ ληπτ[έ]ον, and by later writers, as Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* xiv. 7 οὐ μέντοι ἀλλ' οἱ παῖδες φόρτακες ἦσαν, καὶ οὐ θατέρᾳ ληπτοί. In collecting my examples I find this very passage quoted (without name) by Suid. Ἐκκείμεθα: . . . . "οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια πρᾶγμα ἐκκείμενον οὐδὲ καταβεβλημένον οὐδὲ θατέρᾳ ληπτ[έ]ον".

p. 60 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ νόμον ἐκ φιλοσοφίας παρέξομαι. Πυθαγόρας Μνησάρχου Σάμιος ἐπιγέγραπται τῷ νόμῳ, ὅστις ὁ νόμος οὐκ ἐᾷ τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐπιποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ βούλεται μένειν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης χειρός, ὅπως ποτὲ ἔσχε τύχης ἢ τέχνης. Did anyone ever see anything less tolerable than this ὅστις ὁ νόμος? There is not a parallel to be found, I will venture to say, in the whole of literary prose; and Synesius who avows himself to be so sensitive to style (οὕτως ἁπαλὸν ἐκμαγεῖον τῶν ἐν λέξεσι χαρακτήρων, p. 62 C) was hardly likely to use anything so inelegant. Perhaps then, someone may suggest, ὁ νόμος is a gloss appended to explain that ὅστις refers to

νόμῳ, not to Πυθαγόρας, and to be ejected leaving ὅστις οὐκ ἐᾷ. That will be half right; and we shall be wholly right if we read according to Greek usage τῷ νόμῳ ὃς οὐκ ἐᾷ. It was often possible, especially since punctuation was less certain in manuscripts than in our printed books, for the antecedent of a relative to be ambiguous: and in such a case ὅστις ὁ νόμος was a regular formula with scholiasts—late scholiasts at any rate: e.g. Pind. *Ol.* x. (xi.) 29 ἀγῶνα....Διός, ὃν] ὅντινα ἀγῶνα. *Pyth.* ii. 15 Boeckh ὕβριν ἐν ἄντλῳ. τὰν οὐδὲ Πορφυρίων λάθεν παρ' αἶσαν ἐξερεθίζων] ἥντινα τὴν Ἡσυχίαν (not ὕβριν) παρὰ τὸ δέον ἐξερεθίζων.... *ib.* 25 ὃς εὐμενεῖ νόῳ] ὅστις ὁ Ἀπόλλων. *Pyth.* ix. 6 τὰν] ἥντινα τὴν Κυρήνην. *Nem.* vii. 106 ὃς ἐξέπεμπε] ὅστις ὁ Σωγένης. Lycophr. 169 ὅν τε] ὅντινα τὸν Δηΐφοβον. *ib.* 503 ᾗ μόνῃ] ᾗτινι μόνῃ τῇ Αἴθρᾳ: and most frequently in the elementary scholia to Euripides, e.g. *Or.* 25.

p. 51 Read εἰ . . . μενεῖτε for *vv. ll.* μένοιτε and μένετε as the following futures show.

p. 57 οὐ γὰρ <προσ>εποιεῖτο σοφὸς εἶναι Σωκράτης: Dion Chrys. II. p. 284.

p. 62 ἐγὼ δὲ θαμὰ καὶ τραγῳδίαις ἐπετραγῴδησα καὶ κωμῳδίαις ἐπιστωμύλλομαι πρὸς τὸν πόνον ἑκάστου τοῦ γράψαντος. He is speaking of his gift for catching various styles, and his musical comparisons from τοὺς ἐξηυλημένους τὰ ὦτα to the end will make it plain that we should read τὸν τόνον, the 'pitch' or 'tone' of each.

DION CHRYSOSTOM ed. von Arnim (Reiske's pages).

I. 220 (190 von A.) προελθὼν δὲ καὶ προβὰς πάνυ χαλεπῶς πρός τι ὑψηλόν. "Mavult Anglus προσβάς, in quo ei Wolf, pro more suo, assentitur" Reiske, who rejects it. But the English critic was right, for προβάς is merely tautology, whereas προσβαίνειν and προσαναβαίνειν mean to *mount* a steep place, *breasting* it, as they said πρὸς τὸ σιμόν, τὸ ἄναντες, τὸ ὄρθιον, πρὸς αἶπος, λέπας, πρὸς κλίμακα, κλιμάκων προσαμβάσεις. Stephanus' *Thesaurus* s. vv. προσβαίνω, πρόσβασις gives plenty of examples, including προσβαίη in Soph. *Phil.* 42, which has lately been defended rightly in this sense by

Prof. Beare. Commonly, of course, it is corrupted to *προβαίνειν*, even in Moeris p. 63 *Ἀναῤῥιχᾶσθαι, Ἀττικῶς· προβαίνειν ἀνέρπων* (*ἀνέρπειν*?) *Ἑλληνικῶς*: where *προσβαίνειν* was restored by Pierson, who quotes Eur. *Cycl.* 1103 *ἄνω δ' ἐπ' ὄχθον εἶμι, καίπερ ὢν τυφλός, δι' ἀμφιτρῆτος τῆσδε προσβαίνων ποδί.* Modern critics have not been familiar with this use, and on Aristophon Com. (Ath. 238 b) *ἀναβῆναί τι πρὸς κλιμάκιον Καπανεύς* Kock II. 277 says "*πρὸς κλιμάκιον* nemo adscendit". What of Ar. *Pax* 69 *ἔπειτα λεπτὰ κλιμάκια ποιούμενος πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀνηρριχᾶτ' ἂν ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν*?

I. 423 (182 von A.) *κυκώμενοι δὲ καὶ φερόμενοι πάντες ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ σχεδόν . . . . καθάπερ, οἶμαι, τὰ ἐμπεσόντα εἰς τὰς δίνας εἱλούμενα καὶ περιστρεφόμενα . . . .* Read *φυρόμενοι*: he is borrowing Plato's phrase in *Gorg.* 465 C *φύρονται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ ταὐτὰ σοφισταὶ καὶ ῥήτορες.* The rest of the phrasing is from *Cratyl.* 439 C *ὥσπερ εἴς τινα δίνην ἐμπεσόντες κυκῶνται.*

II. 289 (120 A.) Homer's treatment of Antinous: *ὅμως δὲ τοῦτον καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐποίησεν οὐκ εἰκῇ πληγέντα ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ λαιμοῦ, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὸν Πάνδαρον διὰ τῆς γλώττης, ... μὴ οὖν ὑμῖν εἰκῇ δοκεῖ Ὅμηρος ὁτιοῦν λέγειν;* This is natural and intelligible: "*has represented him as struck not at random but through the gullet* (the offending member), *just as Pandar through the tongue*". But the MSS. and editions give us *ἐποίησεν οὐκ εἰκῇ πληγέντα διὰ τοῦ λαιμοῦ, οὐχ ὅπου ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὸν Πάνδαρον διὰ τῆς γλώττης.* I have restored *ἀλλὰ* and removed the gloss: Hesych. *εἰκῇ*: *ὡς ἔτυχεν.*

II. 387 (188) a fable of Aesop; the birds came to the Owl *καὶ ἐδεῖτο τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ὀπῆς ἀπανίστασθαι πρὸς δὲ τὰ δένδρα τὴν καλιάν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτά, καὶ τοὺς τούτων μεταπήγνυσθαι κλῶνας, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ᾄδειν ἔστιν εὐσημότερον.* Halm *Fab. Aesop.* 106 p. 53 and von Arnim adopt Reiske's conjecture *σκέπης*: Reiske would have this mean *relinquere tegmen et tutelam quam ab aedibus captare solet.* Now the swallow, which lives *ὁμωρόφιος* with men, might no doubt

be said to enjoy *σκέπην*: Plutarch *Mor.* 727 F contrasting the *πελαργός* with it says, *καίτοι ὁ πελαργὸς οὔτε σκέπης μετέχων οὔτ' ἀλέας οὔτ' ἀδείας τινὸς οὔτε βοηθείας παρ' ἡμῖν*: but the owl, as we all know, sat upon the house-tops, and I do not see how that situation could be called a *σκέπη*. And *protection derived from* would have been *τῆς παρὰ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων σκέπης*: whereas *σκέπη ἀπό* would be *shelter from, against*; *σκέπουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος* Plut. *Mor.* 981 F. What the owl was invited to abandon was *τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων σκοπῆς*: Diod. Sic. iii. 26 *σκοπὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων δένδρων ποιούμενοι*. 35 *σκοπεύουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων*. Lucian ii. 40 *ἀπὸ δένδρου ὑψηλοῦ ποιούμενος τὴν σκοπήν*. i. 495 *τί οὐχὶ οἰκοδομοῦμεν . . . . ὡς ἔχοιμεν ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου ἀκριβεστέραν τὴν σκοπήν;* From a lofty tree he would not only have a wider range of vision, but the sound of his voice also (*καὶ ᾄδειν*) would carry further.—The word *σκώψ* indeed would appear originally to have meant *the watcher*, formed like *κλώψ* and *παραβλώψ*: see Athenaeus 629 f.

FRAGMENTS OF COMEDY ed. Kock

I

p. 9 Ecphantides 2: I think these are *two* fragments of iambic lines: *Μεγαρικῆς κωμῳδίας* | ≃ – ∪ – ≃ and *ἠσχυνόμην τὸ δρᾶμα Μεγαρικὸν ποιεῖν*.—In *Μεγαρικῆς κωμῳδίας ᾆσμα δίειμ'* the word *ᾆσμα* seems to me unsuitable. AIOMA and ΔIЄMAI were perhaps different attempts at deciphering the same word,—conceivably *δεῖσαν* or *δεισαλέα*.

p. 43 Cratinus 97 (Ath. 638 e)

τίς ἄρ' ἔρωτά μ' οἶδεν, ὦ Γνήσιππε, ἐγὼ πολλῇ χολῃ.
οἴομαι μηδὲν οὕτως μωρὸν εἶναι καὶ κενόν.

ἐρῶντα Dalec. *εἶδεν, ὦ Γνήσιππε; ἐγὼ οὔ. πολλῇ σχολῇ.* Hermann. *ὦ Γνήσιππε πω; πολλῇ χολῇ.* Dobree. "Fortasse scribendum *ὦ Γνήσιππ'*. B. *ἐγώ*. A. *πολλῇ χολῇ*. sed talem versum emendare nihil aliud est quam in tenebris micare" Kock. "ego non expedio" Kaibel. It is quite simple. *πολλῇ χολῇ* would mean nothing here; and *πολλῇ σχολῇ* would mean

'there is plenty of leisure.' Read the dative, *τίς ἄρ' ἐρῶντά μ' εἶδεν, ὦ Γνήσιππέ, πω ; πολλῇ σχολῇ·* that is, *πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω*, "*No fear!*"

p. 147 Pherecrates 10 (Ath. 263 b) *αὐτὰς ἔδει μοχθεῖν ἅπαντ' ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ· | εἶτα πρὸς τούτοισιν ἤλουν ὄρθριαι τὰ σιτία, | ὥστε τὴν κώμην ὑπηχεῖν θρυγανουσῶν τὰς μύλας.* I restored this in place of *θιγγανουσῶν* in *Class. Rev.* 1896 p. 438, writing there *θρυγανωσῶν*. The word was formed on purpose to express that resonant grinding sound which will be remembered by any one who has ever heard even a coffee-mill in action, or the drubbing of knuckles on a door (Ar. *Eccl.* 34). The root was *τρυ-*, of which *θρυ-* was a modification, and *θλυ-* a further one; and many words from these roots described sounds of *murmuring* etc. such as were produced by the action of *τρύχω*: *τρύζω*, *τρυγών* (and *τρύχνος*?), *τρυλίζω*, *θρυλίζω*, *θρυλεῖν*, *θρῦλος*, *τονθ(ο)ρύζω* (not *τονθρίζω*): this last a reduplicated form just like *γογγρύζω* from *γρύζω*, and *πομφόλυζω*, which is from *πλυ-* or *πλε-*, *φλυ-* or *φλε-* (as *θρε-ομαι*, *θρόος*), from which come *δυσ-πέμφελος*[1] and *πέμφιξ*. Then, from *τρυγ-* or *θρυγ-* or *θυργ-*, all these intensifying forms would be quite normal: *θρυγάω*, *θρυγαίνω*, *θρυγάνω*, *θρυγανάω*, *θρυγονάω*. The varieties we find in MSS. *τρυγανᾶν*, *τρυγονᾶν*, *θρυγανᾶν*, *θρυγονᾶν*, *θυργανᾶν* are all good in themselves, and Pherecrates may have used any one of these, or *θρυγανουσῶν*. Here is the series:

	(ἀπο-, ἀνα-	(ἀνα-	(ἀνα-
βρύω, βλύω, βλύζω	βλυστάνω	βλυσθαίνω	βλυστονάω[θ]
	(ἐκ-		
φλύω φλύζω	φλυνδάνω		
ἀλύω		ἀλυσταίνω[θ]	
τρύω τρύζω	θρυγάνω		θρυγανάω θρυγονάω
λύζω		λυγγαίνω	λυγγανάομαι[2]
	(ἐγ-	(ἀνα-	
κράζω	κραγγάνω	κραγγαίνω	κραυγανάομαι
κλάζω	κλαγγάνω	κλαγγαίνω	

[1] *πέμπελος* is a wholly different word, and comes from *πεπ-*, meaning *πεπαντός*, *πέπων*.

[2] *ἀναλύζουσα* : *λυγκαίνουσα* Suid. *λυγγανόμενον* : *λύζοντα ἐν τῷ κλαίειν* Hesych. This last, the *middle*, I correct to *λυγγανώμενον*, as *κραυγανώμενον* and *βρυχανώμενον*.

p. 287 Eupolis 109: *νεανισκεύεται*: . . . . Εὔπολις Αἰξίν. *ἰδίως δὲ ἐσχημάτικεν τὸ νεανισκεύειν ἐν Δήμοις*· "..... *αὔτη νεανικοῦντος ἐπεθύμησέ μου*." So Photius; *νεανισκεύοντος* Suidas. *νεανικοῦντος* would mean *νεανικοῦ ὄντος*, "when I was of the character *νεανικός*": but it is pretty evident that the sense was *νεανίσκου ὄντος* "when I was a young fellow". The entry therefore should be *ἰδίως δὲ ἐσχημάτικεν τὸ νεανισκεῖν* . . . . "*αὔτη νεανισκοῦντος ἐπεθύμησέ μου*". That is as legitimate a form as *νεανισκεύοντος*, though *νεανισκεῖν* means rather 'to be a young man', *νεανισκεύειν* 'to behave as one'.

p. 624 Plato (Ath. 110 d) *κατ'* (A, *κἀθ'* CE) *ἄρτους ἦκε πριάμενος* | *μὴ τῶν καθαρύλλων, ἀλλὰ μεγάλους Κιλικίους*. It is surprising that all the editors, including Kaibel, should have taken *ἦκε* to mean '*he came*.' The *μή* shows that it is the imperative. Ellendt *Lex. Soph.* says that this imperative is rare *etiam apud alios*; it is rare, no doubt, in Tragedy, but it is common enough elsewhere.

II

p. 51 Antiphanes 100. 2 (Stob. *Flor.* 59. 6): read

τῶν γὰρ πλεόντων ζῇ τις; ἐλθεῖν στάδιά που
ἑκατὸν ἐπ' οὔδει κρεῖττον ἢ πλεῦσαι πλέθρον.

p. 52 Antiphanes 105 (Ath. 300 c): read

καὶ σοῦ γ' ἐπώνυμός τις ἐν φήμαις βροτῶν
Θρῄκης κατάρδων <πεδία or *πεδίον* . . . . . *ποτῷ>*
Στρύμων, μεγίστας ἐγχέλεις κεκτημένος.

Cf. Aesch. *Persae* 490 *Σπερχειὸς ἄρδει πεδίον εὐμενεῖ ποτῷ*. 807 *ἔνθα πεδίον Ἀσωπὸς ῥοαῖς ἄρδει*, and Sositheus (Nauck 822) *λῆα* . . . . *ἀρδευτὰ δαψιλεῖ πότῳ* (write *ποτῷ*). Timocles 15. 5 (p. 458) of Hypereides *μισθωτὸς ἄρδει πεδία τοῦ δεδωκότος*.——In place of what I have supplied the MS. gives *ποταμὸς ὠνομασμένος*, interpolated glosses.

p. 93 Antiphanes 194. 15 (Ath. 450 c): in answer to a wordy and unintelligible riddle the second speaker retorts

πίννη καὶ τρίγλη φωνὰς ἰχθῦ δύ' ἔχουσαι
πόλλ' ἐλάλουν, περὶ ὧν δὲ πρὸς ὅν τ' ᾠοντο λέγειν τι
οὐκ ἐλάλουν, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμάνθανεν ὥστε πρὸς ὃν μὲν
ἦν αὐταῖς ὁ λόγος, πρὸς δ' αὐτὰς πολλὰ λαλούσας
αὐτὰς ἀμφοτέρας ἡ Δημήτηρ ἐπιτρίψει (or *ἐπιτρίψαι*).

Read *οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμάνθανε, λῷστε, πρὸς ὃν μὲν ἦν αὐταῖς ὁ λόγος*, '*nam is quidem quem adloquebantur nihil intellegebat*': 'because, my good sir, the person they were talking to understood nothing'. The construction is like Theodectes 10. 5 (Nauck p. 805) *ὅπου κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐν λόγοισί μου γυνή, πρὸς ὃν δ' εἴρηκε, τυγχάνει πόσις.* Socrates Rhodius in Ath. 148 a *τῶν δ' ἡγεμόνων ἐφ' ᾗ ἕκαστος κατέκειτο κλίνῃ . . . . ἑκάστῳ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψε.* Lucian iii. 230 *ἐφ' ἧς δ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐγένετο, προτιμᾷ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπασῶν πολέων.* *Orest.* 1663 *ἐφ' ἧς δ' ἔχεις, Ὀρέστα, φάσγανον δέρῃ, γῆμαι πέπρωταί σ' Ἑρμιόνην· ὃς δ' οἴεται Νεοπτόλεμος γαμεῖν νιν, οὐ γαμεῖ ποτε.* *Rhes.* 631 *ὃν δὲ χρὴ παθεῖν, οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδ' ἤκουσεν ἐγγὺς ὢν κακοῦ.* *Iph. Taur.* 1410, *Ion* 660. Synes. *Epist.* 68 *ᾧ δέδωκα τὴν ἐπιστολήν, στέλλεται μὲν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν . . . .*

I think it probable that this construction lies obscured in the corrupt epode, Aesch. *P. V.* 931 *ἐμοὶ δ' ὅτι μὲν ὁμαλὸς ὁ γάμος ἄφοβος· οὐ δέδια· μηδὲ κρεισσόνων θεῶν ἔρως ἄφυκτον ὄμμα προσδράκοι με*: "for me, marriage, when equal, has no terrors; *but* may no eye of love be cast upon me by superior Powers!" The strongest objection I feel here is *μηδὲ* or *μὴ δὲ* being opposed to *μέν*, in the sense '*but* not'. Homer indeed uses *οὐ δὲ* in that way, but it is open to grave doubt in Aeschylus. *κρεισσόνων δὲ μὴ* would be the natural way for Aeschylus to write, or *μή τι κρεισσόνων δ' ἔρως κτέ.* Now *δέδια* should be genuine, because it has the short final vowel which the metre needs: and the following would be free from metrical or structural objection:

ἐμοὶ δ' ὅπου (or *ὅταν* or *ὁπότε*) *μὲν ὁμαλὸς ὁ γάμος*
ἄφοβος, οὐδὲ δέδια· μή τι κρεισσόνων δ'
ἔρως ἄφυκτον ὄμμα προσδράκοι με.

But the *οὐδὲ δέδια* is at least superfluous; whereas there would be no superfluity in this:

ἐμοὶ δ' ὅπου μὲν ὁμαλὸς ὁ γάμος
ἄφοβος· ὃν δὲ δέδια, μή τι κρεισσόνων
ἔρως ἄφυκτον ὄμμα προσδράκοι με.

Let this be corrupted to *οὐδὲ δέδια*, and the text-maker would naturally write *μὴ δὲ* for the sake of the antithesis. I find that cod. Ven. 2 has *ἄφοβος· οὐδέ τι διακρεισσόνων* and in the margin *μηδέτι*: it is possible that this may be a relic of the *μή τι* I suggest.

p. 120 Antiphanes 256 (Stob. *Flor.* 116. 16) *ὦ γῆρας, ὡς ἅπασι τοῖς ζητοῦσί σε | ψέγειν ἀφορμὰς παραδίδως τοῦ πράγματος.* This is a rare phrase; the usual word with *λαβήν* and *ἀφορμήν* is *ἐνδίδως*, as in Eur. *Hec.* 1217, or *παρέχεις*: but Plutarch has *λαβὴν παραδοῦναι* in *Mor.* 51 F, *Cic.* 20. In Plat. *Legg.* 682 E a special propriety may be found for *ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν οἷον λαβὴν ἀποδίδωσι*: "nam ὁ λόγος, quum antea ab instituta via deflexisset, nunc ansam dicitur reddere tanquam debitam" Stallbaum.——*ἀποδοῦναι* is *reddo*, and so cannot be right in Menander 356 (Stob. *Flor.* 107. 7) *ὡς ἄδικον ὅταν ἡ μὲν φύσις | ἀποδῷ τι σεμνόν, τοῦτο δ' ἡ τύχη κακοῖ.* Kock suggests *παραδῷ*, and it might be either *ἐπιδῷ* or *προσδῷ*, both of which mean to *bestow as bounty*.——In Plut. *Publicola* 16 *διὰ σιμότητα τῆς ῥινὸς ἐνδεδυκυίας* may look right, but is not: read *ἐνδεδωκυίας*, and again in *Arat.* 22 *τοῦ τρίβου παντάπασιν ἐνδεδωκότος* for *ἐνδεδυκότος*.

p. 177 Eubul. 37 (Ath. 300 C) . . . . *αἵ τε λιμνοσώματοι | Βοιώτιαι παρῆσαν ἐγχέλεις θεαί, | τεῦτλ' ἀμπεχόμεναι.* Eels could not of course be called *lake-bodied*: and the conjectures have been *λειοσώματοι* Valckenaer, *λιχνοσώματοι* (with what meaning?) Meineke, *λιπαροσώματοι* Hirschig, *χιονοσώματοι* Kock, *αἵ τ' ἐχιδνοσώματοι* Kaibel. The last is unsuitable, because it is not complimentary: we want an epithet in a fanciful style of loving admiration. In another passage like this (*fr.* 35) the epithet of praise is *white-fleshed*: *νύμφα ἀπειρόγαμος, τεύτλῳ περὶ σῶμα καλυπτά, | λευκόχρως πάρεστ' | ἔγχελυς.* And so it is in Matro's Epic parody (Ath. 135 C)

τῷ δὲ μετ' ἴχνια βαῖνε θεὰ λευκώλενος ἰχθύς, ἔγχελυς. Kock's χιονοσώματοι would therefore be appropriate; but it is not, I think, the true word. Let me ask attention to the variations which the burlesque manner plays upon the epithet *white*:

White bread: Philoxenus (Ath. 147 a) μάζας χιονόχροας. Philyllius (Ath. 110 f) πυρῶν ἐκγόνους, γαλακτοχρῶτας κολλύβους.

White cheese: this is the proverbial quality of goat's-milk cheese: of Galatea (*Milk-white*), Theocr. xi. 20 λευκοτέρα πακτᾶς ἐσιδεῖν, Lucian i. 289 τί ἄλλο ἔν σοι ἐπαινέσαι εἶχεν ἢ τὸ λευκὸν μόνον; καὶ τοῦτο οἶμαι ὅτι ξυνήθης ἐστὶ τυρῷ καὶ γάλακτι. Descriptions of it are Nausicrates II. 295 K. (Ath. 296 a) γαλακτοχρῶτα, Σικελὸς ὃν πήγνυσ' ὄχλος, θρόμβον[1]. Antiphanes II. 30 K. (Ath. 455 f) τροφαλίδας τε λινοσάρκους· μανθάνεις; τυρὸν λέγω.

This λινοσάρκους Eustathius 1339. 18 interprets λεπτὰς καὶ ἁπαλάς, but it must mean also *fine and white* like linen: and with the same meaning we should read λινοσώματοι in Eubulus.

The quantity of the ι in λινοσάρκους has caused critics generally to regard it as corrupt; but these two passages support each other. Sophocles *fr.* 41 πατὴρ δὲ χρυσδὺς ἀμφίλινα κρούπαλα is probably another case, and Ar. *Pax* 1178 ἐγὼ δ' ἔστηκα λῑνοπτώμενος, although the long ι seems 'incredible' to Meineke and Blaydes, remains defying any sort of alteration. In Latin the normal quantity was *līnum, līniger*; and here are four passages in Greek which show the same. Eustathius 1067. 54 thinks it worth while to say λίνον ἡ ὁρμιὰ κατὰ συστολὴν τῆς ἀρχούσης. Antiphanes and Eubulus are probably borrowing their epithets allusively from lyric poetry; who knows in what dialect it may have been?

p. 203 Eubul. 108 (Ath. 553 a).

ἐν θαλάμῳ μαλακῶς κατακείμενον· ἐν δὲ κύκλῳ νιν
παρθενικαὶ τρυφεραὶ χλανίσιν μαλακαῖς κατάθρυπτοι
τὸν πόδ' ἀμαρακίνοισι μύροις τρίψουσι τὸν ἐμόν.

[1] This last word I restored, *Class. Rev.* 1899 p. 6: ῥόμβος, the turbot, followed after.

"*τὸν πόδα μύροις τρίβειν* nemo unquam dixit. poeta scripsit *τὼ πόδ'—μύροις χρίσουσι τυράννῳ*" Kock. Kaibel, since the title of the play is *Σφιγγοκαρίων*, takes the lines to be a riddle, and says "*τὸν ἐμὸν* quid fuerit sciemus si griphum ipsum solvere contigerit". Meantime I will suggest that this is the solution of the text:

τὸν πόδ' ἀμαρακίνοισι μύροις < . . . .
. . . . . > *τρίψουσι τὸν ὦμον.*

p. 253 Ephippus 5. 18. Ath. 347 b

περιαγγέλλειν τ' "οὐχ ὑποκαίεις,
Λυκίων πρύτανι; ψυχρὸν τουτί·
παύου φυσῶν, Μακεδὼν ἄρχων·
σβέννυ Κελτους μὴ προσκαύσῃς".

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff has well restored the vocative, *σβέννυ, Κέλθ'*, *ὡς μὴ προσκαύσῃς* (*κέλτεως*): and we may perfect this, I think, by reading *σβέννυ, Κέλτ', οὐ μὴ προσκαύσεις;* "*don't scorch!*"—That is simply the negative of *οὐ προσκαύσεις;* which is the peremptory form of imperative in Greek. This future with *οὐ μὴ* is usually corrupted by the scribes to the aorist subjunctive.

266 *Καλυψώ, Κίρκη*: cf. *Γρύλλος* (*Pig*) in Plut. *Mor.* 985.

277 Aristophon 4. 5 (Ath. 238 b),

προσβαλεῖν πρὸς οἰκίαν δεῖ, κριός· ἀναβῆναί τι πρὸς
κλιμάκιον Καπανεύς· ὑπομένειν πληγάς, ἄκμων.

κλιμακίδιόν εἰμι Καπανεύς Meineke: but there ought to be no *εἰμι*: compare Antiphanes 195 p. 94. This however would do admirably: *ἀναβῆναί τι πρὸς | κλιμακίδιον, αὐτοκαπανεύς* "a very Capaneus". Alciphron iii. 70 has *αὐτοσκαπανεὺς ἐδόκουν* "a very digger".—For the construction *πρὸς κλιμακίδιον* see above on Dion Chrys. I. 220.

p. 322 Alexis 78 (Ath. 227 d) there is a lacuna:

ὅστις ἀγοράζει πτωχὸς ὢν ὄψον πολύ,
ἀπορούμενός τε τἄλλα πρὸς τοῦτ' εὐπορεῖ,
τῆς νυκτὸς οὗτος τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ποιεῖ

γυμνοὺς ἅπαντας· < *i.e.* λωποδυτεῖ. *There*
ought to be a law, χρῆν εἶναι νόμον,
someone ought to . . . . .
. . . > εἶτ' ἐπάν τις ἐκδυθῇ,
τηρεῖν ἔωθεν εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν,
ὃς ἂν δ' ἴδῃ πρῶτον πένητα καὶ νέον
παρὰ Μικίωνος ἐγχέλεις ὠνούμενον
ἀπάγειν λαβόμενον εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον.

Compare the passage of Diphilus (II. 549 K.) which Athenaeus quotes next after this, and Alexis 125 (Ath. 226 a).

p. 362 Alexis 174. 11 (Ath. 386 a) a loquacious cook is cut short by his employer saying

σὺ πρὸς θεῶν ἔθυσας τὸν ἔριφον
μὴ κόπτ' ἔμ', ἀλλὰ τὰ κρέα.

"In heaven's name, now that you have killed the kid for slaughter, don't chop *me* up (i.e. *bore* me), but the meat." Kock has tried to get this sense by means of σὺ πρὸς θεῶν δ', ἐπεί γ' ἔθυσας τὸν ἔριφον: but we do not want γε, and with ἐπεὶ we should have had τέθυκας. Read ϲγπροϲθεωναναεθγϲαϲ i.e. σὺ πρὸς θεῶν, ἄνθρωπε, θύσας τὸν ἔριφον, μὴ κόπτ' ἔμ', ἀλλὰ τὰ κρέα. So in Sosipater (II. 316, Ath. 377 f), the impatient listener at last exclaims τίσδήτι (πείσθητι· ?) παραδείξας ἐμοὶ τὰ δέοντ', ἀπελθὼν αὐτὸς ἡσυχίαν ἔχε. See Cobet *N. L.* 35, who however, in attempting this, forgot the meaning of πρὸς θεῶν.

p. 394 Alexis 266. 1 (Ath. 55 c)

μὴ ὥραισι μετὰ τῶν κακῶν ἴκοιθ' ὁ τοὺς θέρμους φαγών.

Since in *Lysist.* 391 we find ὁ μὴ ὥρασι μὲν Δημόστρατος, Hermann was able to restore the first verse by reading μὴ ὥρασι μὲν τὰ τῶν κακῶν ἴκοιθ' ὁ κτέ: but μετὰ τῶν κακῶν is right, and means 'with all his mischief': Liban. IV. 616 ἀλλὰ κακὸς κακῶς ἀπόλ[λ]οιο μετὰ τῶν καλῶν διδασκάλων.

p. 442 Mnesimachus 9 (Ath. 387 a)

καὶ, τὸ λεγόμενον,
σπανιώτερον πάρεστιν ὀρνίθων γάλα
καὶ φασιανὸς ἀποτετιλμένος καλῶς.

This would be sense if *σπανιώτερον* meant '*commoner*'; but as it is, we must read *κοὐ*, "*pigeon's milk is not to be found more rarely*". But how then can *καὶ* follow? It must be (as very often) a mistake for *ἢ*: "*and pigeon's milk, as the saying is, is not to be found more rarely than a pheasant properly plucked*": that is, a pheasant properly plucked is as rare a thing as the proverbial pigeon's milk.—Stob. *Flor.* xii. 3 (Soph. *fr.* 76) gives *κακὸν τὸ κεύθειν καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς*.—This seems better than merely to read *σπανιώτατον*.

III

138 Menand. 481. 13 (Stob. *Flor.* 121. 7).

ὁ προσδιατρίβων δ' ἐκοπίασ' < . .
. . . . . *>ας ἀπώλεσεν.*

172 Menand. 563. 3 (Plut. *Mor.* 547 c) punctuate:

λεπτὸς γίνομ' εὐωχούμενος·
τὰ σκώμματθ' οἷα, τὰ σοφὰ καὶ στρατηγικά!
οἷος δ' ἀλάζων ἐστὶν ἁλιτήριος!

σοφά witty, ironically, just as in Theocr. xiv. 22 "*οὐ φθεγξῇ; λύκον εἶδες;*" *ἔπαιξέ τις.* "*ὡς σοφός!*" *εἶπε* "Oh how clever!"

Menander *monost.* 613 (iv. p. 357 M.) *μὴ μόνον ἐπίστασ' ἀλλὰ καὶ δοῦναι φίλοις*. Read *ἐπικτᾶσθ'*. Eusebius in Stob. *Flor.* 16. 24 *ἄνδρα χρήματα μεγάλα ἔχοντα ἀποτεθησαυρισμένα καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου εἵνεκα ἐπικτώμενον . . . . μήτε δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸν μήτε εἰς ἄλλο τι τῶν χρησίμων ἀναλίσκοντα, μήκοτε πλουτέειν ἀποφήνειε* (*ἀποφήνειας* B. man. sec.), *φύλακα δε καὶ ποριστὴν εἶναι ἀλλοτρίων χρημάτων καὶ πόνους ἔχειν αἱρέεσθαι πολλάκις καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῷ μηδὲν προσήκουσιν ἐπικτώμενον*: which is a reminiscence of Eur. *fr.* 198 and probably of Philemon 99.

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